HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Will Senate Reject Pact?

Non-Proliferation Treaty Favors USSR

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia has exposed once again the true character of the Soviet tyranny. Senators who had been soft-soaped with State Department assurances of a mellowing Soviet world are raising questions about the wisdom of our collaboration with the tyrants. They want to put the Non-Proliferation Treaty aside for this session of Congress to show U.S. disapproval of the Soviet aggression.

It is indeed prudent to re-examine the premises of this treaty. It was negotiated by men who believed that accommodation of the Soviet Union would appease its appetite for conquest and promote East-West collaboration.

They negotiated in this treaty a disarmament of the West without any corresponding disarmament of the Communist world. In their desperation to reach some agreement, our leaders allowed the Soviet Union to dictate the terms.

Under the guise of a general disarmament proposal, the Johnson Administration has been duped into accepting an instrument of Soviet conquest. This treaty pressures the industrial nations of the free world to forfeit their right to arm in self-defense. It asks India and Japan to face Red China without nuclear armament and without guarantees from the United States. Their adherence to this treaty would invite Red Chinese aggression, if only to show that the United States is a paper tiger. This treaty promotes war, not peace.

In Europe, West Germany is asked to renounce its right of nuclear self-defense and to depend upon the good will of the Soviet Union. But the Germans have not been deceived about Soviet mellowing. The USSR will take West Germany when it can.

In another aspect, this treaty is a futile and misguided effort to hold back the tide of progress. Industrial countries of the West must enter the nuclear game to stay in the forefront of modern technological progress. They cannot and should not concede a monopoly of the field to the United States and the Soviet Union.

Soviet leaders Kosygin and Brezhnev should be smiling. They stand the most to gain from the proposed treaty even as Russian arms cause American GIs to die in Viet Nam.

Behind the Iron Curtain, this treaty has a different impact. The Soviet Union and Red China have nuclear monopolies which they have no intention of sharing with their satellites. They may arm East Germany to attack West Germany but they will never give East Germany its own source of munitions. This treaty puts no restraint whatsoever on the nuclear armament programs of the Communist powers.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty illustrates the extremes to which impractical peace-seeking can be driven by a shrewd enemy.

This instrument would align the United States with the Soviet Union against our allies and associates in West Germany, Japan and India. It undermines the confidence of these countries in our intelligence and integrity and in that measure weakens the free world. This treaty is indeed a triumph of Soviet diplomacy.

Even before the Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia, the unequal quality and adverse effect of this treaty should have been apparent to senators. Since the attack, the self-delusion of our quest for detente with the Soviet Union stands starkly revealed. Good-will and cooperation never have and never will change the Communist determination to destroy us. Only our uncompromising hostility to Communist aggression can preserve our security.

Our policy of unilateral disarmament has steadily reduced our defenses in the face of a mounting Soviet capacity to attack us. Ours has been a policy of hope and folly.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty is a measure of unilateral disarmament conceived to court the good-will of the Soviet Union. It would further reduce the relative power of the free world. It is a remnant of the Johnson maladinistration which should be swept out with the boss. The Senate should advise and reject.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● Sources close to the vice president say that Hubert Humphrey may have to undergo **major surgery** soon to have LBJ removed from his back.

● Prodded by Rep. Albert Watson (R.-S.C.), a subcommittee of the **House Committee on Un-American Activities** is now planning to hold October hearings on left-wing groups involved in the demonstrations in Chicago. The subcommittee, to be chaired by Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.), will probe several organizations, including the Students for a Democratic Society, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam and the Yippies.

● Comparing the **campaign kick-offs** of Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey, the Los Angeles Times' Robert J. Donovan noted: "The difference between Nixon and Humphrey was like that between a runner in a track suit and a runner with a peddler's bag on his back—in Humphrey's case a bag bulging with Viet Nam, Mayor Daley, urban riots, Lyndon B. Johnson, high prices and assorted political liabilities of the last five years."

● Hubert Humphrey's supporters are worried that supporters of Sen. Eugene McCarthy may cause Humphrey to lose his home state of **Minnesota**. Reason: McCarthy's name is on the Minnesota ballot and experts are saying that the law will not permit McCarthy to remove it as he has been doing in other states.

● Here's what the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) says about Humphrey: "Hubert Humphrey didn't cast one 'wrong' vote on official AFL-CIO COPE voting records. His overall mark: **60 'right' votes, no 'wrong' votes.**"

● Sen. **Jacob K. Javits** (R.-N.Y.) continues his ultra-liberal ways. The New Yorker sharply criticzed GOP vice presidential candidate Spiro T. Agnew last week for saying there was a "definite link" between communism and the student unrest in the United States. Unlike the FBI, the police and the newspapers, Javits sees no connection.

● **Stokely Carmichael** is peddling his incendiary wares from coast to coast. Carmichael, who now lives in Washington, showed up recently at a "Free Huey Newton" rally in Oakland to urge blacks to "pick up a gun . . . to kill." Carmichael drew cheers when he cried: "We are fighting against racism and imperialism. The government of the United States is racist and imperialist. Therefore, we are fighting against the government of the United States."

● The Columbia University chapter of **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS), which helped lead a protest that disrupted the school last spring, met recently in Earl Hall on Columbia's Morningside Heights campus to map strategy for a new "fall offensive."

● The Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal runs the following one sentence editorial each day: **"A vote for Wallace is a vote for Humphrey."**

● The Senate last week passed and sent to the President a bill authorizing $65 per month extra pay for the captured **U.S.S. Pueblo crewmen** in North Korea. Aren't they about ready for old-age pensions, too?

● New York's radical left Freedom and Peace Party is running Negro comic **Dick Gregory** and Warren Commission critic Mark Lane for president and vice president. The Freedom and Peace Party is loosely affiliated with California's Peace and Freedom Party which has nominated Black Panther punjab Eldridge Cleaver for the nation's highest office. (For more on Cleaver and his radical campaign, see page 8.)

● Having **Ramsey Clark** for Attorney General is "like having Dr. Spock as secretary of defense," says Rep. William Scott (R.-Va.). The GOP lawmaker says it's time to start "enforcing the laws on the books" but Clark apparently disagrees.

● Detroit News political writer J.F. Ter Horst last week conducted an **informal survey of reporters** accompanying Republican presidential hopeful Richard Nixon, and found that 53 of the press men expected Nixon to win in November and five were betting on Hubert Humphrey.

● The indefatigable Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) has uncovered still another smelly deal in which the taxpayer is the big loser. Williams discovered that the Navy has given a **$20-million windfall** to a firm headed by convicted financier Louis Wolfson for a nuclear submarine it never completed. The submarine, more than two years overdue, is not yet completed.

● Critics of the **free enterprise approach** to solving the problems of poverty received a rude jolt last week when officials of the JOBS program (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) announced they were running far ahead of schedule. Designed to find jobs in private industry for 100,000 hard-core unemployed by next July 1, the JOBS project has found employment for 63,000 in the past four months alone.

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Nixon's Campaign in Gear

Switching from the soft-sell approach he used to touch off his campaign in Chicago, GOP presidential candidate Richard Nixon revealed last week that he was going to come out hard on the issues that divide the two major parties.

Along the campaign trail, Nixon has been stressing that, unlike Humphrey, he favors the retention of the Taft-Hartley's famous Section 14b which permits states to enact right-to-work laws, thus abolishing compulsory unionism. Unlike Humphrey, he vigorously disagrees with certain Supreme Court decisions which have turned criminals loose upon the streets. Unlike Humphrey, he is opposed to bigger and bigger government spending. And unlike Humphrey, he thinks the federal government, through the power of the purse, has been arbitrarily and dangerously abusing its authority to force school integration in the South.

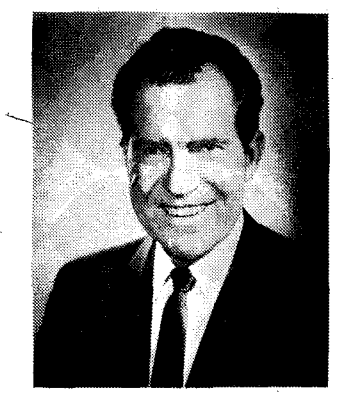
Zeroing in on the crime issue in Indianapolis after Humphrey had strongly suggested that poverty was its root cause. Nixon charged that Humphrey was "tragically naive" about the nature of the crime wave engulfing our country. "Just like the Administration of which he is a part," Nixon stressed, "Mr. Humphrey has exaggerated and overemphasized poverty in this country as a cause of crime . . . the war on poverty is not a war on crime and it is no substitute for a war on crime."

Poverty, said Nixon, "cannot explain the rising growth of crimes of violence and larceny among the youth of suburban America. Poverty cannot explain the 187 per cent increase in daytime burglaries in this country in the last seven years."

There are, said Nixon, "thousands of hardened criminals in the United States who steal and rob, not because they are living in conditions of poverty but because they can make a comfortable and successful career out of crime. . . .

"I say doubling the conviction rate . . . would do far more to cure crime in America than quadrupling the funds for Mr. Humphrey's war on poverty."

The former Vice President last week also underscored his determination to pursue a tough course against the Communists. While Humphrey contended



NIXON

HUMPHREY

in Denver that he would have had "no difficulty whatever" in running on the dove plank rejected in Chicago, a plank that called for an "unconditional end to all bombing of North Viet Nam," Nixon in New Orleans called for such tough-on-Red measures as:

• No aid or credit "of any kind to any country, including the Soviet Union, that aids the enemy in North Viet Nam." (Nixon strongly supports the Northern bombing.)

• A rebuilding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

• An increase in our military hardware. Nixon argued that the Soviet Union has been making long strides in matching our nuclear strength. He said the present Administration had "assumed up until now that parity or equality in the world was enough," but in the future, Nixon emphasized, "Let's always make sure that the country that wants peace is stronger than the one that wants expansion."

The GOP candidate reminded his listeners that the "most important" factor restraining the Soviet Union from further aggression was the fact that "the Soviet leaders looked down the nuclear gun barrel. . . ."

Recently, Nixon has also displayed his differences with Humphrey by scoring the Czech invasion, calling for governmental action to assist Czech refugees and requesting the Administration to re-examine its "bridge building" efforts to the East. Unlike Humphrey, he has also asked for a delay in the confirmation of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a means of pressuring the Soviets to withdraw from Czechoslovakia.

In short, Nixon has clearly disproved George Wallace's self-serving theory that there isn't a "dime's worth" of difference between the two major party candidates.

Humphrey's Follies

Hubert Humphrey's campaign performance last week, it could be said, was not exactly brilliant. In Houston, Tex., for example, key party leaders refused to show up for the Democratic party's presidential nominee. Ditto in Los Angeles, Calif.

In a desperate attempt to woo McCarthyites back to the fold, Humphrey told the doves in his party that he could just as well have run on their platform calling for an unconditional bombing halt of North Viet Nam. For good measure, he predicted the troops might come home early. But within hours, the President of the United States had shot down Humphrey's pink-striped trial balloon. Addressing American Legionnaires in New Orleans, LBJ declared an unconditional bombing halt would increase U.S. casualties "severalfold." He also insisted that "no man can predict" when the troops can come home.

Flushed with rage after the President's pronouncements had been relayed to him, Humphrey said the troops were, too, coming home and waved about a newspaper that said a Marine regiment was on its way back to the states. It was later revealed, however, that the regiment was being replaced and thus there would be no troop reduction in Viet Nam after all.

Nor does this complete the list of Humphrey-Dumpty happenings last week. After saying he could have "without any difficulty" run on a dove plank calling for a halt to the northern bombing, HHH reversed himself again, saying there would have to be conditions to the bombing halt.

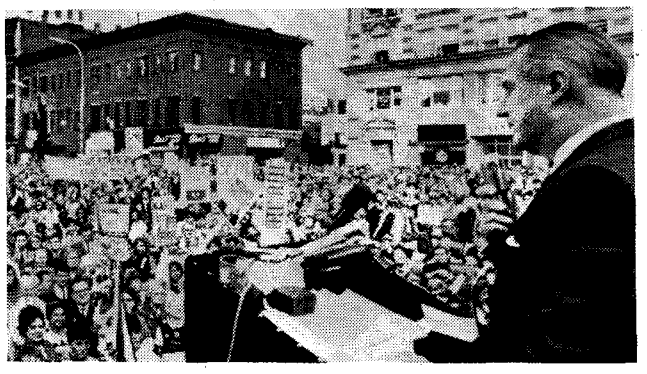
The Vice President's final acrobatic feat was in the field of the 10 per cent surtax. In California he said that he might end the tax even if the Viet Nam war were still on. Earlier, he had said there was no chance of repeal even if the war were over.

Thus ran a week that Democratic party workers—and Humphrey himself—would like to forget.

Is HHH 'Squishy Soft'?

After considerable pressure from the liberal news media and Nervous Nellie Republicans, Spiro T. Agnew apologized for the "squishy soft" and just plain "soft on communism" charges he hurled at Hubert Humphrey last week. But the "retraction" was not quite so all-encompassing as the press chose to play it.

If the "soft-on-communism" phrase could be interpreted as a reflection on Humphrey's integrity, said Agnew, he certainly hadn't meant to employ it in this fashion. Yet Agnew insisted he had no intention of withdrawing the charge that Humphrey was beginning to "look a lot like Neville Chamberlain," who assumed a "peace at any price" posture at Munich, Germany, some 30 years ago.



Gov. Agnew campaigned in Portland, Me., last week as controversy swirled around the Marylander's comments about the Vice President.

Actually, however, there was no need for Agnew to back down at all, and the press wouldn't have had a field day with his apology if he hadn't been pushed into one by GOP congressional leaders Sen. Everett Dirksen and Rep. Gerald Ford.

Panicked that the press would jump on the "soft-on-communism" phrase to accuse the Republicans of being "Red-baiters" and "McCarthyites," both Ford and Dirksen repudiated Agnew's remarks and professed they could find "no evidence" to substantiate them. But this tack only provided the press with further ammunition with which to criticize Agnew.

Instead of torpedoing their own candidate for vice president, say wise politicos, both Ford and Dirksen should have stuck by Agnew and stressed that the "soft-on-communism" phrase meant nothing more than the indisputable fact that Humphrey has consistently advocated appeasement of the Communists over the years. If the press wanted proof, the GOP leaders could have pointed out these facts:

• The *East Minneapolis Argus* of Jan. 12, 1945, quotes Humphrey as saying that to keep the peace we have to "keep in mind that Russia wants and needs. I would list them in this manner: . . . Border states which are friendly to the Soviet Union and governments in those states which will not serve as agents of anti-Soviet forces. An outlet into the Mediterranean. . . . The inclusion of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union. I would say that these are the major demands of the Soviet Union, none of which are in any way impossible of solution, and all of which fit very nicely into a more secure and stable Russia. . . ."

• Humphrey was one of 10 senators to uphold President Truman's veto of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950; he led the fight in the Senate in 1955 to prevent Eisenhower and Dulles from protecting the Nationalist Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu; he favored and favors trade with Red China; he also pressed for a policy in 1957 that would strip the Nationalist government of its seat on the Security Council at the United Nations and replace it with neutralist India.

• Humphrey favored the Harriman plan "to accept the presence of some Communists" in the Laotian government, and he has also been consistently soft on Castro. In April 1959 he said that to millions of Cubans Castro "symbolized their hope for a better life" and that he has "surrounded himself in his cabinet with a number of honest capable men. . . ." And he continued to back Castro long after the dictator's regime was clearly Communist.

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Humphrey has backed such anti-American, pro-Communist leaders as Antoine Gizenga and Christophe Gbenye in the Congo, Ben Bella in Algeria and Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic.

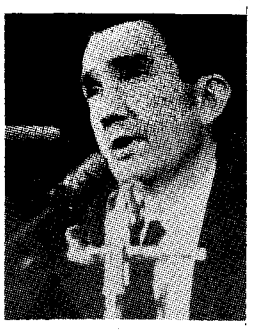
• Columnist Holmes Alexander, in reviewing *Hubert*, by *Human Events* Capitol Hill Editor Allan Ryskind, comments that Humphrey has favored "almost every scheme for coalition-with-communism; almost every anti-American foreign leader, from Castro to Ben Bella; almost every trade-and-aid plan for the Red bloc, and literally every known non-inspection nuclear treaty with Russia have had Humphrey's backing up to the time he became Lyndon Johnson's yes-man."

• And, finally, Humphrey says today he would have had "no difficulty whatever" in adopting the so-called minority plank on Viet Nam which the Democratic convention rejected in Chicago. That plank called for an "unconditional end to all bombing of North Viet Nam" (an act that the military says would increase U.S. casualties fivefold), promised to reduce U.S. offensive operations in South Viet Nam and urged a coalition government on South Viet Nam.

If all this doesn't reveal a "softness" toward the Communists, what do Messrs. Dirksen and Ford think it does reveal?

That 'War on Crime'

While Hubert Humphrey says he plans to wage a war on crime should he ever get to the White House, Rep. Gerald Ford charged last week that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has ordered Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark not to make use of newly passed laws designed to "wage war on the Mafia and other crime activities."



CLARK

Ford explained that he referred especially to what he called the Administration's refusal to permit the employment of court-supervised wiretapping devices to investigate major crimes and organized criminal activity. Atty. Gen. Clark, whom Humphrey has also defended, is also known to be opposed on his own to using wiretaps.

Asked whether he charged that the Administration had also ordered Clark not to execute anti-riot provisions of the newly enacted crime control law, Ford did not make a specific accusation. He went on to say, however, that under the crime control law the Justice Department could and should have moved against several persons who crossed state lines for the purpose of creating "the crisis in Chicago during the Democratic convention." The new law, passed three months ago, makes it a federal crime to use interstate travel or facilities to incite, encourage or participate in riots.

Among those Ford said the Justice Department should have moved against: Jerry Rubin, head of the Yippies; Tom Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society; and David Dellinger, a leader in the anti-war movement and a frequent visitor to Hanoi.

"I can't understand why the Administration didn't move against them under the new law," said Ford. Maybe he should ask that question of Humphrey, who now claims he is all on the side of law and order.

Will Rocky Campaign for Dick?

A major question in Republican circles these days is: Just how much of an effort will Rocky make to help Dick Nixon carry New York? The Empire State governor was playing "party unity" last week in White Plains when he introduced Nixon as a "great Republican" and "our next President," but there is considerable skepticism that New York's volatile chief executive plans to remain aboard the Nixon bandwagon.

Less than a month ago, for instance, Rocky was telling Richard Dougherty of the Los Angeles *Times* he had no plans to demonstrate anything more than "token"—as Dougherty phrased it—support for the Republican ticket. Rocky, further, thought the GOP was "headed for disaster in November," in Dougherty's words.

The *Times'* reporter also revealed that Rocky had considered becoming a Democrat in the 1940s and suggested that the New York governor may have had a hand in turning his nephew Jay Rockefeller into one.

After stating he thought he could have won the presidency as a Democrat, Rocky declared: "I told my nephew Jay [a rising West Virginia politico] that one thing he should remember is making his decision was that he would have a 2½ times better chance of getting elected if he was a Democrat. And that's true whether it's for dog catcher or the White House. Jay is now a Democrat; thus Rocky's "loyalty" to the GOP.

Dougherty then narrates the following episode: "When the plane landed at the Westchester County Airport and the governor and Mrs. Rockefeller said goodby to newsmen and staff members who had gone through much of the campaign with them, there were tears in a lot of eyes. But there was no show of sadness on the part of Rockefeller.

" 'Give my regards to Chicago,' he said to a reporter who was going to cover the Democratic convention.

" 'You've got more friends there than in Miami Beach,' the reporter said. Rockefeller laughed. 'I want to tell you, you're not just kidding. . . .' "

Thus the doubts about whether Rocky really plans to push the Nixon-Agnew ticket in the Empire State.

Once More With Fortas

After being played down for several weeks now, the Fortas nomination has again become front-page news. The Senate Judiciary Committee has reopened hearings on the matter and a decision on whether to confirm Fortas as chief justice will soon come before the entire Senate.

FORTAS

Hubert Humphrey has come out solidly for Fortas' confirmation; Richard Nixon says the next President should choose the chief justice. Conservative lawmakers, however, believe the Senate should decisively repudiate this crony of LBJ's on the grounds that he is a judicial activist whose deplorable decisions on the high court have helped set off the internal crisis that now confronts the United States.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), a member of the Judiciary Committee and a former judge, has outlined just a few of the decisions (some of them mentioned previously on these pages) that Fortas participated in that render him totally unfit for the office of chief justice:

• Fortas joined in the 5-to-4 decisions in *Miranda* v. *Arizona, United States* v. *Wade, Gilbert* v. *California* and *Stovall* v. *Denno*, all of which create artificial rules of evidence for all criminal trials in federal and state courts. "These newly created rules," said Ervin, "are repugnant to the words and history of the 5th and 6th Amendments upon which they are allegedly based, and permit multitudes of murderers, rapists, burglars, robbers and thieves to go unwhipped of justice."

• Fortas was with the majority in the 6-to-2 decision in the *United States* v. *Robel* and the 5-to-4 decision in *Keyishian* v. *Board of Regents* which aver that the 1st Amendment right of association confers upon Communists a constitutional right to work in defense industries vital to our national security and a constitutional right to teach in the schools of the states. Fortas, says Ervin, "joins in these decisions notwithstanding that he admits in his booklet on 'Dissent and Civil Disobedience' that 'the Communist party is devoted to overthrowing the government of the United States by force and violence.'"

• Fortas joined in the 7-to-2 decision in *Katzenbach* v. *Morgan* in which the Court declared that the 14th Amendment empowers Congress to eliminate *non-discriminatory* state voting qualifications and supplant them with a federal voting qualification. This judgment, stresses Ervin, "illustrates judicial activism in its most virulent form."

• Fortas was part of the 6-to-3 decision in *Amalgamated Food Employes* v. *Logan Valley Plaza* which holds that by virtue of the freedom of speech clause of the 1st Amendment union pickets now enjoy a constitutional right to invade the private property of a businessman against his will for the purpose of urging his customers not to deal with him, and that no federal or state court in the land can grant the businessman any protection against such invasion of his private property.

"This decision," Ervin states, "converts a trespass of great antiquity into a new judge-made right, and is inconsistent with the law of private property which has prevailed in Anglo-American jurisdictions for hundreds of years."

• Fortas also joined in the 5-to-4 decision in *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.* which nullifies the clearly expressed purpose of Congress set out in Section 7 of the Taft-Hartley Act that those who labor in American industry should be free to refrain from participating in strikes or other concerted union activities.

For these and many other reasons, no senator should vote to confirm this man in the exalted position of chief justice. Particularly in this election year the folks back home will pay close attention to exactly how their senators vote on this extremely crucial issue.

Poverty Scandals

Massive scandal continues to plague the federal anti-poverty program. Reports of padded payrolls, kickbacks and outright thievery pour into the Nation's Capital with such frequency that they no longer make headlines.

In Washington, the watchdog General Accounting Office interviewed some 70 employees of Pride, Inc., a federally financed youth program, then reported:

"We received numerous allegations of payroll padding, kickbacks of wages by enrollees to team captains and area supervisors, and under- and over-payment of wages."

GAO probers also reported that at least one Pride official was selling narcotics; that "older workers and team captains threatened younger workers with physical violence;" that checks were issued and cashed in the names of individuals who did not work for Pride.

In New York City, officials are investigating reports that $300,000 in anti-poverty funds have been "stolen in wide-scale and systematic pilfering," according to the New York *Times*.

The first inkling of fraud came when four young men—three of them anti-poverty workers making from $6,400 to $8,200 a year—were arrested August 26 and charged with the unauthorized use of an automobile. Authorities said that in the car was a briefcase containing 105 anti-poverty pay checks made out to non-existent persons and bearing forged endorsements. The checks totaled $4,067.10.

In Chicago, Senate investigators have discovered that much of $927,341 spent on two warring youth gangs has been stolen. A handwriting expert told the Senate subcommittee headed by Arkansas Democrat John McClellan that he found more than 1,000 acts of fraud.

The project, administered by the Woodlawn Organization, was designed to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents and other school dropouts. But as it turned out, leaders of the dread Blackstone Rangers pocketed much of the money through kickbacks, forgery and other types of fraud.

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POLITICS '68

GOODELL'S APPOINTMENT

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's selection to fill out the term of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was a **mild surprise to conservatives**, but New York's new senator is still expected to line up with the Republican liberal bloc.

GOODELL

Rocky's choice was Rep. **Charles Goodell**, a member of the House Republican leadership who sports a respectable rating of 80 per cent conservative on the scoreboard of the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA). Many had expected the Empire State's chief executive to reach into his grab-bag of liberal Republicans and appoint someone like Rep. Ogden Reid, who consistently backstabs the GOP leadership and boasts a puny 29 per cent ACA rating.

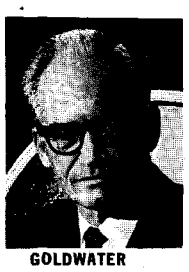
Politicos believe that Rocky decided to pick the more conservative Goodell on the grounds that New York's **Conservative party** now wields so much weight that Rocky was afraid to make its leaders too angry.

Goodell, however, is somewhat **more liberal** than his voting record would indicate. On some of the big issues of the day, he tends to tilt to portside.

In the pre-convention campaign, for example, Goodell was strongly in the corner for Rockefeller and helped persuade fellow House member **Albert Quie** (R.-Minn.) to hop aboard the Rocky campaign. Goodell has placed himself on record as favoring a 30-day cessation of **bombing of North Viet Nam** with "reassessment on a day-to-day basis after that"; he approves of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty with Russia and he is for the confirmation of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice. In addition, he is giving only conditional backing to the Nixon-Agnew ticket.

POTPOURRI

It will be **Barry Goldwater** vs. **Roy Elson** for the seat of Arizona's retiring Democratic Sen. Carl Hayden. Elson, a liberal and long-time Hayden aide, captured his party's senatorial primary in a three-way primary fight last week. Goldwater, who left the Senate to run for president in 1964, was unopposed in the GOP primary. (Goldwater for Senate Committee, 7045 East Camelback Road, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85251.)


GOLDWATER

• Sen. **George Aiken** (R.-Vt.) was assured of re-election by winning both the GOP and Democratic nominations. Aiken swamped his lone primary opponent, then won the Democratic nod on a write-in vote.

• Veteran Republican Sen. **Norris Cotton** of New Hampshire will be opposed by Democratic Gov. John W. King. Cotton, a moderate conservative, trounced his only primary opponent; King, an LBJ loyalist, was unopposed.

• In Wisconsin, Republican **Jerris Leonard**, majority leader of the state Senate, was nominated to take on incumbent Democrat Gaylord Nelson, a Viet Nam dove, in November.

• Colorado's GOP Sen. **Peter Dominick** will face former Democratic Gov. Steve McNichols in the general election. Dominick was unopposed in his primary; McNichols won a 3-to-2 victory over State Rep. Kenneth Monfort, a Viet Nam dove.

• Conservative Republican Sen. **Wallace Bennett** won an overwhelming primary victory in Utah, crushing a former John Birch Society officer, Mark E. Anderson. Bennett will face Milton L. Wellenmann, former Utah director of industrial development, who won the Democratic primary.

POLL BOOSTS NIXON

A "spectacular gain" by Richard Nixon has thrust the GOP nominee into a "commanding lead" over Hubert Humphrey, the **Christian Science Monitor** reported last week in a copyrighted state-by-state survey.

The Monitor survey gives Nixon **31 states** with a total of 372 electoral votes (or 102 more than necessary to win). Humphrey is awarded only 10 states and the District of Columbia for a minuscule 85 electoral votes. Former Alabama Gov. **George Wallace** is close behind, according to the Monitor, with five states and 52 electoral votes. Four states are currently rated toss-ups.

The Monitor poll indicates that liberal commentators were far off base when they termed "suicidal" the selection of Maryland Gov. **Spiro T. Agnew** as Nixon's running mate:

"Mr. Nixon with Gov. Agnew runs better than he has ever run before in a Monitor survey against Mr. Humphrey. Mr. Humphrey with Sen. **Edmund S. Muskie** makes a poorer showing than he ever has before."

The Monitor survey finds, interestingly enough, that Wallace is now gaining strength at the expense of Humphrey, not Nixon, as he appeared to earlier. Humphrey's decline is also seen in the fact that the **seven largest states**—California, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas—are all given to Nixon.

PENNSYLVANIA

A well-informed politico who has been active in Pennsylvania Republican affairs says that the **Nixon effort** in the Keystone State is really dragging, that almost no material is being distributed and that whereas at this time in '64 there were already some 85 independent store-front headquarters around the state, at the present time there are hardly any.

He attributes this situation to the fact that the campaign is being run by liberal Republicans such as **Craig Truax**, Sen. Hugh Scott's former administrative assistant **Bob Kunzig**, and **Arlin Adams**, an ex-Democrat who was Gov. William Scranton's secretary of public welfare. This same source says that Nixon's record 200,000 write-in victory in the April primary was largely engineered by conservatives and that many of these people are now being frozen out. Also, Pennsylvania is in the midst of a **registration drive** and the results so far show that COPE, not the GOP, is doing the more thorough job.

GOP STRONG IN TEXAS

Texas Republican gubernatorial candidate **Paul Eggers** got a strong push down the road to the governor's mansion when he became the first GOP candidate ever to be endorsed by the state's largest Mexican-American organization. The **Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations** (PASO) voted in mid-August to back conservative Eggers in his uphill race against Democrat Preston Smith.

EGGERS

PASO was formed seven years ago to act as a political voice for Texas' Mexican-American population and has since grown to be an influential political factor in the state. Before it has always supported Democrats, largely because of the party's dominant power in the state.

But PASO was endorsing Republican Eggers, said the official resolution, because "The Texas Democratic party has left us no alternative but to look elsewhere and support the fight for a **two-party system** in Texas [to attain] more equitable treatment and recognition for the Mexican-American."

In supporting Eggers, PASO rejected a fervent plea by Sen. **Ralph Yarborough**, the state's leading liberal Democrat, to back Lt. Gov. Smith in his gubernatorial effort. The group also endorsed Republican Manual Sanchez for state treasurer.

The endorsement greatly improves Eggers' already good election prospects in a state where Democrats are running away from their national ticket as fast as they can go. Even Texas' retiring Gov. **John Connally**, previously an HHH backer, is now cool to Humphrey.

HHH GETS BREAK

Hubert Humphrey received a rough going-over last week, but there was some welcome news along the way: The **New Party**, which has threatened to run a presidential candidate in as many as 20 states, has virtually decided to abandon the project.

Organizers of the leftish party, whose prime mover is **Marcus Raskin**, a leader in the draft resistance movement, recently met with aides of Sen. Eugene McCarthy and came away convinced that the Minnesota senator would definitely not participate in the fourth party movement. McCarthy, in fact, has already taken his name off the ballot in Iowa, Indiana and Montana, and he expects to remove his name from Nebraska and New York in the very near future.

Since no other political figure of prominince has displayed any signs of taking up the New Party's banner, its leaders have decided to continue in existence but concentrate on **local candidates**. Backers of the Vice President are thus breathing a sigh of relief.

COPE BACKS DEMOS

The AFL-CIO's **Committee on Political Education** (COPE), big labor's political action arm, has come out foursquare for the Democratic platform planks promising to strengthen the hand of the union bosses.

Instead of pushing for more so-called "Right-to-Work laws like the Republicans," says COPE, the Democratic party "called for repeal of **Taft-Hartley Section 14(b)** which makes 'right-to-work' laws possible."

While the GOP wants to weaken the pro-union **National Labor Relations Board**, COPE is delighted that "the Democratic plank called for strengthening its hand and makings its operations more effective."

COPE also praises the Democrats for "'removal of unreasonable restrictions on the right of peaceful picketing, including **situs picketing**.'" (Translated, this means COPE is applauding the Democrats for proposing laws in which one union can close down an entire construction project even though every other union working on the same project has no quarrel with the boss.)

And unlike the Republicans, says COPE, the Democratic party called for "extension of the National Labor Relations Act's protection to farm workers, employes of private, non-profit organizations and other employes not now covered."

Hence one more reason why the **labor bosses** are trying to mobilize all the resources at their command to defeat Richard Nixon and the Republican party in November.

WALLACE AND OHIO

In the most delicious bit of irony thus far in the young presidential campaign, third partyite George Wallace has begged the **Supreme Court** to help him get his American Independent party on the ballot in Ohio. And showing that justice truly is blind, members of the High Court, some of whom Wallace has attacked as being something akin to traitors, appear ready to assist the fiery Alabamian.

Ohio officials, citing a state law denying a ballot line to any party that failed to poll at least 10 per cent of the vote in the last statewide election, refused to list the **American Independent party** for the November election. Wallace claimed this law was an unconstitutional bar against independent parties and had his lawyers persuade a special three-judge federal court to order Ohio to permit write-in votes for a third party; the court, however, refused to order that Wallace's name be put on the ballot.

So, not satisfied with this, Wallace next turned to Washington, appealing to the body he so loves to attack for its striking down of state laws. Associate Justice **Potter Stewart** agreed that the Ohio case raised constitutional questions and promised a court order preventing the state from printing ballots or preparing voting machines until the whole court could make a decision.

The court reconvenes in mid-October and will hear arguments on the case at that time. Then it is very possible that the Supreme Court will give Wallace a helping hand in his third-party crusade.

CAPSULES

• Officials of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education are winding up a **$750,000 registration drive** designed to put hundreds of thousands of Democratic voters on the rolls in crucial states. But COPE officials are concerned that many of the blue collar votes will cast their ballots not for Humphrey but for Wallace.

• The presidential candidate of the Communist Party, USA, is demanding that she be given the top level briefings afforded the major party candidates. Comrade **Charlene Mitchell** is also complaining that she has been denied Secret Service protection. Her protests are being filed in the Washington's circular files.

• Ohio Democratic senatorial candidate **John J. Gilligan** took the time last week to deny reports that he had received campaign contributions from Cleveland millionaire-industrialist Cyrus Eaton, a well-known backer of Communist causes.

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'Charlie Green' Has His Problems

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Charlie Green is a mythical character dreamed up by the Tax Foundation to dramatize the dollar drain on the average citizen. But when you come to think of it, Charlie Green is not mythical at all. He is pretty much like thee and me as he watches with growing frustration the inroads on his income made by the federal, state and local tax collectors.

In 1958, for example, Charlie Green, with an income of $7,500, was paying $98 in state taxes. Today, he is making $12,000, but the tax collectors at the state capital are nicking him for $180. In 1958, Charlie was paying Uncle Sam $1,266, just for permission to breathe. The cost of fresh air has gone up and Charlie now shells out $2,169 to the Internal Revenue Service and Mr. Whiskers.

Life hasn't become any happier for Charlie, his wife, and his two teenage kids. But the federal government has lots more to spend on programs that mean less and less to the Greens.

In 1958, one dollar of Charlie's tax bite was being spent for space research and technology. Today, that buck has been multiplied 59 times by the Washington bureaucrats. In 1958, another dollar of Charlie's taxes went for federal housing and community development programs. In 1968, $48 is going for these programs.

Or take health, labor, and welfare. In 1958, $248 of Charlie's contribution to the well-being of the Washington bureaucrats went for programs in those fields. Now in ten years, this has more than doubled, to $573. Education in these United States gets worse with each passing year, but Charlie's ante for supporting the education of the young has been raised in ten years from $8 to $56. (Today's kids, it would seem, are getting the worst education that money can buy.)

It isn't only government costs that rob Charlie Green of his hard-earned money. In 1958, he was spending $1,741 for food. In 1968, his family isn't eating any more, but the bill runs to $2,789, an increase of 60 percent.

Charlie did some figuring the other night. And he discovered that his raise from $7,500 to $12,000 isn't doing him very much good. Today, 34 per cent of his income goes for direct taxes, which do not include all the hidden taxes that edge up the price of goods and service. In 1958, only 27 per cent of his salary was gouged out of him in taxes. Inflation (see the food bill above as but one indication of this) has wiped out $489 of Charlie's after-tax increase in pay. Since another $2,055 of his income hikes since 1958 have gone for higher taxes, Charlie's net increase after inflation and taxes is not $4,500 but only $1,954," the Tax Foundation points out.

And there's the matter of Social Security payments. Today 4.4 per cent of his salary, or $343.20, is deducted from his earnings up to $7,800. But according to present schedules, Charlie will be hit for 5.9 per cent, or $460.20, in the next ten years. His employer is also contributing, making the Social Security Administration's take $686.40 now: $920.40 in 1987.

So Charlie Green is on a kind of treadmill. Every time he receives a raise, the IRS man is on his doorstep to get his progressively bigger cut.

It isn't the fault of the IRS man. He is following orders written by a Congress that appropriates and appropriates, then taxes and taxes. As the federal debt gets bigger, Charlie Green is stuck with his share of the bill for interest rates—$106 in 1958, $167 in 1968.

He can write to his congressman or his governor, complaining that the cost of all government, federal, state and local, has risen in the last ten years from $135 billion to $274 billion in ten years—a jump of 103 per cent. But will he get any satisfaction from the men he helped put in office? Charlie is not that naive. In fact, he probably has a package of letters from elected officials, thanking his for his interest in the affairs of government but letting him know sternly that to cut government expenditures would court disaster.

Maybe it would, but not in the Green household. A couple of thousand dollars in a tax rebate—or in a sensible tax-and-spend system—could buy a lot of fun times for Mr. and Mrs. Green and their two high school kids.

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ANOTHER LAME DUCK FOLLY— "According to reporter Sarah McClendon of the North American Newspaper Alliance, President Johnson has ordered government agencies to make a study comparing the accomplishments of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations with those of the Eisenhower Administration. According to the report, Mr. Johnson is interested in securing his place in history. The documentation might also come in handy in the election campaign. The exercise has been estimated by one source to cost in the neighborhood of $20 million. It makes us wonder, not for the first time, if Lyndon Johnson has any familiarity at all with the concept that the taxpayer's dollar should be spent as carefully by the government as it would be by the taxpayer himself. And it makes us wonder, in conjunction with the political appointment of Justice-designate Thornberry, how much lame-duck irresponsibility the nation will be forced to endure between now and January."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

□□□

STEPHEN SMITH, the "bag man" in Bobby Kennedy's presidential campaign, is thinking of running for mayor of New York. Smith, a businessman who married into the Kennedy family, was the chief fund raiser for both RFK and JFK.

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An Open Letter to a Protest Voter

By FRED DeARMOND

Dear Bill:

You've said that you will vote for George Wallace.

You and I are in fundamental agreement on the issues of this campaign. We differ only on strategy—the means to an end we have in common. Therefore, as a devotee of our common cause, may I offer a few considerations on the choice of a candidate. First, in the most friendly spirit, a few questions:

1. You will agree, won't you, that our first and immediate object is to oust the present welfare state establishment in Washington?

2. Do you think Wallace has any real chance of being elected?

"Isn't a vote for Wallace (above) in effect a vote for Humphrey?" asks the author.

3. Since the big contest is between conservatism and socialism, and since our next President is almost certain to be either Richard Nixon or Hubert Humphrey, which of them will come nearest to giving you what you want?

4. Then, isn't a vote for Wallace in effect a vote for Humphrey?

5. Finally, wouldn't the voting action you propose tend to defeat the very end that you wish to attain?

Now, from our conversation, I think I hear you saying something like this: "I'm for Wallace as a protest vote. I'm tired of being given no real choice between the two big parties, tired of picking the lesser of two evils, tired of the same old campaign oratory promising pie in the sky, peace, prosperity, and the Brotherhood of Man."

Well, Bill, I believe I understand your position, and it has some plausibility. But let's take a brief look at the way political changes are effected in our U.S.A.

I'm sure you don't expect everything to be righted and the Rooseveltian obsession of 30 years fully redressed by this one campaign. The most we can hope to do by this election is to woo the American electorate back to a degree of sanity, to deflect and eventually halt the "Great Society" giveaway, rescue the dollar before it dies of inflationitis, and take steps to make life and property safe in our land.

These and the other most essential changes will have to be accomplished by the new Administration in cooperation with Congress. If the miracle of the century were to happen and George Wallace became the White House occupant, he could do nothing except through the aid of either a Republican or a Democratic Congress. Would his temperament be equal to such a contest, or would he be another Andrew Johnson at war with a congressional majority, his hands securely tied, a man without a party?

You say you want "a choice, not an echo."

We thought we had a clear choice in 1964, but the occasion and the candidate did not conjoin. A different approach is needed. This year the Republican party has adopted a new strategy. It is making a broad-based appeal under a leader whose record clearly identifies him with the conservative position. Many of the things that Wallace so intemperately demands, Nixon will accomplish. The fierce denunciations by Wallace may satisfy the pent-up, impatient resentment of his followers but they will not unite a majority of the nation on a program of change to the Right. Before a leader can change anything he must first be elected.

By going over to a third party with your protest vote, you are really saying, "I must have a whole loaf or no bread at all." Ask yourself: Is this the effective way to exercise your opinion?

A political party that gets anywhere has to be more than an implement of protest. It should be an instrumentality for accomplishing the best attainable results in government, and to be effective it is necessary to work with the party that represents at least 51 per cent of what you believe in. To expect 100 per cent agreement with any candidate for national office is quite unrealistic. Base your stand on broad principles and recognize that some compromises on methods are essential if those principles are to prevail.

The admirable record of the Republican minority in Congress is a genuine earnest of what we can expect when it becomes the majority. Even 25 more Republicans in the House would have sufficed to defeat some of the worst legislation enacted by the present Congress.

Time after time in our history the American people have refused to buy the European idea of three or more parties. The generation just preceding the Civil War saw a succession of splinter parties: the Anti-Masons, the Loco-Focos, the Liberty Party, the Hunkers, the Barnburners, the Freesoilers, the "Conscience" Whigs. Later came the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Bull Moosers, the Socialists, the Progressives, the Dixiecrats. None of them got anywhere or accomplished anything tangible.

There is no visible evidence that George Wallace can accomplish what such men as William Wirt, James G. Birney, John Tyler, James Weaver, Teddy Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Bob LaFollette, and Strom Thurmond tried, only to meet with dismal failure.

As it's commonly used, I dislike the expression, "wasting your vote," meaning to have voted for one who lost. But to vote for George Wallace, and thereby forfeit your chance to choose between continuing with four more years of the same, or electing Dick Nixon who with a great party behind him will give you a large part of what I believe you want—that would truly be wasting your vote.

—Fred

Mr. DeArmond, a former associate editor of Nation's Business, *is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in such publications as* The Freeman *as well as in* Human Events.

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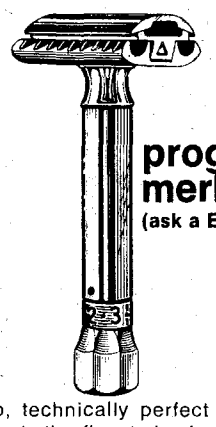

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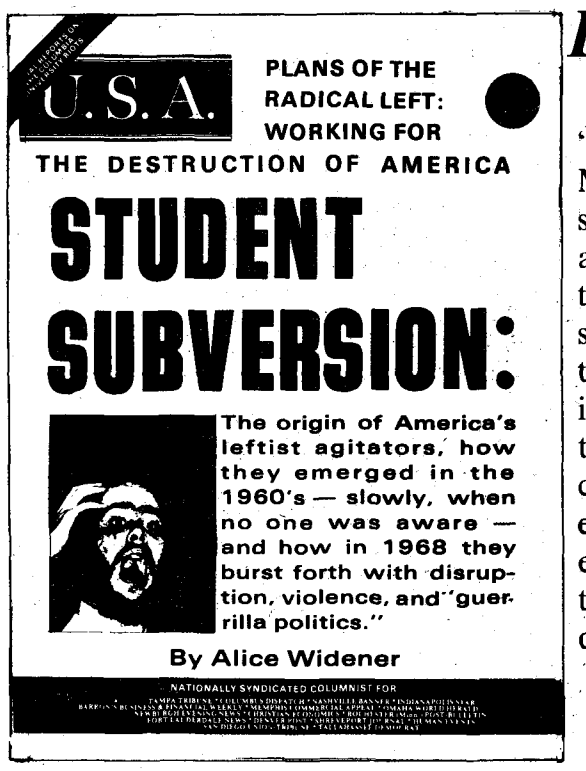
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PLANS OF THE RADICAL LEFT: WORKING FOR
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The origin of America's leftist agitators, how they emerged in the 1960's — slowly, when no one was aware — and how in 1968 they burst forth with disruption, violence, and "guerrilla politics."
By Alice Widener
NATIONALLY SYNDICATED COLUMNIST FOR

"Upon publication of Mrs. Widener's report, spokesmen for S.D.S., a far left organization, immediately asserted that their intentions had been "misinterpreted." The actuality on New York campuses is evidence enough that Mrs. Widener misinterpreted nothing, but accurately predicted what lay ahead." **CHICAGO TRIBUNE.**

HOLMES ALEXANDER says, "I know of no other source material which provides the documentation (which first appeared as advance warnings) about the Columbia University student insurrection." **THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR** says, "University presidents, administrators, trustees and faculty should read it. So should students. So should their parents. And so should every one who wants to know what the current uproar on the nation's college and university campuses is all about — and who is behind it — and why." "For the first time. . . **STUDENT SUBVERSION** compiles the full three-year record of the Marxist student and faculty movement." — **BARRON'S**

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Eldridge Cleaver:
Peace and Freedom Candidate

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

Throughout this election year the left wing has been spreading the propaganda line that the United States is a "sick society." Now, as if to confirm this theory, the leftists have contributed a real element of sickness to the society they decry.

This year the leftists have nurtured the presidential candicacy of black militant Eldridge Cleaver, running under the Peace and Freedom Party label. A typical comment from candidate Cleaver: "I think that the Viet Cong are 100 per cent right and the United States is 500 per cent wrong."

The Cleaver candidacy is clearly the latest happening in a year of bizarre political events.

At the national convention of the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) held in Ann Arbor, Mich., over the weekend of Aug. 17, 1968, Cleaver received 161½ votes from the 218 delegates as compared with 54 votes for comedian Dick Gregory, the only other serious contender. Gregory, however, has vowed to still campaign for write-in votes in the November election.

The Peace and Freedom Party is composed largely of New Left protestors who are unaffiliated with the existing Communist parties. The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) has characterized the PFP as "ultra-leftist" and has boycotted its conventions. The CPUSA has also nominated its own candidate for the presidency.

Eldridge Cleaver is obviously a different sort of presidential candidate. On one hand, he openly doubts that he will win the election. On the other Cleaver expressed confusion in a pre-convention interview over whether his first official act as president would be to "arrest the Chief of the Oakland (Calif.) Police, the mayor of the city of San Francisco or the mayor of Los Angeles."

At present, these are a few of the qualifications offered by Eldridge Cleaver in his drive for the presidency: He is the Minister of Information of the ultra-radical Black Panther Party. He is very familiar with life in a jail. The New York *Times* recently pointed out that "Cleaver, who was born in Little Rock, Ark., has spent most of his adult life in prison. He was first convicted, when he was 18 years old, of possession of marihuana. Then he went back to jail in 1958 on conviction of assault to kill and rape. He drew 14 years and served nine." As of this writing, Cleaver is charged in California with three counts of attempted murder and three counts of assault.

The Peace and Freedom Party has this to say about Cleaver: "For the first time in many years, we have an opportunity to reach millions of people who are begining to look for an alternative to Establishment politics, through the nomination of Eldridge Cleaver for president."

The Cleaver nomination was officially sponsored by the Los Angeles chapter of SNCC; the Black Panther Party; Jerry Rubin of the Yippies, a one-time reluctant witness before HCUA; John Gerassi, who was recently fired from teaching at San Francisco State because of his radical political position; Barbra Garson, the author of "Mac Bird"; and Tom Hayden, a former leader of SDS and a frequent traveler to Hanoi.

The Black Panther Party, as Robert Bailey pointed out in his thorough report in the September 7 issue of *Human Events,* is considered one of the most ultra-radical black revolutionary organzations in the United States. Cleaver, in a surprise move earlier this year, agreed to ally the Panthers with the Peace and Freedom Party.

In an article in *Ramparts* magazine, Cleaver told a reporter that it was only because of Panther help that the PFP managed to get on the ballot in California. On August 21, the California State attorney general refused to allow Cleaver's name to be placed on the ballot because he is only 33 years old and ineligible to be president because of his age. Still, as a result of the Panther-aid, the PFP gave Cleaver the nod as their presidential nominee.

Eldridge Cleaver sits in the back of an ambulance after being shot in the leg during a running gun battle with Oakland police.

In the *Ramparts* article, Cleaver states that a number of black militants did not like the idea of the Panthers working with the overtly white PFP. He stated that "we were put through a lot of changes by black cats who didn't relate to the Peace and Freedom Party. They told us rather frankly that we had become tools of the white racists."

But, Cleaver claimed that there was no sellout: "We approached the whole thing from the point of view of international relations. We feel that our coalition is part of our foreign policy."

It is worth noting that Cleaver is a Senior Editor at *Ramparts.* He is also the author of the book *Soul on Ice,* which combines his militant anti-white attitudes with sketches of prison life. He was formerly engaged to Beverly Axelrod, a well-known left-wing California lawyer who has been picketed by the the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor Party as a "slum lord," but Cleaver later married a young black militant and part-time poet.

A recent poem by wife Kathleen Cleaver contains the following lines:

But the pain involved and the struggle required
Just to live in this madness for one more day
Is more than a man can say
He must just pick up the gun
Refuse to run
Stand on his feet
And act like a man.

Eldridge Cleaver is running on the platform of "Power to the people—Black Power to black people." After winning the nomination from the PFP, Cleaver spoke of "uniting the angry, the insane and the prison inmates." He stated that "we want to gather all the mad men together, because we have to confront mad men."

The PFP's presidential candidate often wears the stereotyped uniform of the Black Panther Party when he speaks: a black beret, a black leather jacket, black pants and an obvious button reading "Free Huey" referring to the Black Panther promise to free Huey Newton even though he has been convicted of the murder of an Oakland policeman.

The official poster of the Cleaver campaign quotes the candidate as saying "What we need in America is radical political machinery that is able to move in two directions at the same time, able to harness two, on the surface, different sets of political dynamics—the liberation struggle in the black community and the class struggle in the white community. . . We believe that the coalition formed between the Black Panther Party and Peace and Freedom Party in California is the foundation of this new and needed machinery. . ."

Eldridge Cleaver puts it this way: "The Democratic party and the Republican party are both criminal organizations and they should be destroyed." "I don't believe," he declared in a recent speech, "that it's possible for black people to have a good life under a capitalist system."

A little over a month ago, Cleaver delivered an address in Los Angeles that has not previously been reprinted or reported in any national publication. This speech gives the best example to date of the philosophy of this political candidate. What follows are sections of the speech that Cleaver delivered at the University of Southern California on August 2, 1968. The next day, he gave almost the identical speech at the California convention of the PFP. These excerpts are from a tape recording of the USC speech:

"The pigs of the power structure say the people are impotent, that we can't control things anymore, that we have to leave things to pigs like Dean Rusk or that Texas pig in the White House. As long as there are people on this Earth they will always be able to take control of their own destiny and pull down the pigs of the power structure.

"They say, if you want a bad example, look to China. Well I ain't gonna look to China. I done looked to China. And I see Mao Tse-tung took up a gun, took the coolies away from the rickshaw, and now he's got the hydrogen bomb. And I say that's all right.

"They got parole officers out here to monitor me. Up in San Francisco they told 'em to come in here and listen to my speech, to see if I violate my parole, you dig? Well, I don't know what to do about that. As far as I'm concerned, pigs of the power structure's on parole. . . .

"But there are more people than there are pigs, and the people got more guns than the pigs got guns. I don't say give me liberty or give me death; I say 'Give me liberty or I gonna pick up a gun.'

"I am not a freak for violence. Guns is ugly. People is what's beautiful, and when you use a gun to kill a person you doin' something that's ugly. But there are two forms of violence—violence to liberate yourself and violence visited on you to keep you in your place. We have to make a choice between continuing to be the victim, or decide to take our freedom. . . .

"If you ain't part of the solution, you part of the problem, you dig? There's no more middle ground. We gonna provide a situation that's gonna force the Babylonians to deal with it.

"Speaking of pigs, I was asked about Ronald Reagan. There's a punk who can read anything they put in front of him and remember it. Then he trot out in front of a microphone and recall it. Take away all those script writers and bring him out here with nothing and he will revert to his nature and say 'oink'. . . ."

Cleaver ended this remarkable speech with the threat that unless he gets his way, "There gonna be blood on the streets of Babylon."

As things now stand, Eldridge Cleaver will only be on the ballot in the state of Michigan—a fact that certainly limits his potential to win the presidential election. But his destructive and dangerous ideas will have a platform. Win or lose, the left-wing has clearly shown that at least one portion of our society really is sick.

Sen. Hart Tries to Name a Judge

By HENRY ZUIDEMA

The screening committee of the American Bar Association is of the opinion that Lawrence Cubow, U.S. district attorney for Michigan's eastern district, lacks the qualifications to be a federal judge, but Michigan's Democratic Sen. Philip A. Hart feels that Cubow's long-time support of liberal doctrines ought to merit elevation to the federal bench.

Hart is pushing to have Cubow's nomination by President Johnson confirmed in the Senate soon after Judiciary Committee hearings this month. The nomination reached the Senate August 2, the day Congress recessed.

Cubow, a graduate of the University of Michigan law school, was Michigan's corporation and securities commissioner from 1956 to 1961. As such he promulgated "Rule 9," under which the commission could revoke the license of any dealer in real estate who refused to show, sell, or cooperate in the sale of any property where racial discrimination appeared to exist. The decree was declared unconstitutional when appealed to the Michigan Supreme Court.

He was appointed district attorney by President Kennedy in 1961 and reappointed by President Johnson in 1965.

State Rep. James Del Rio, of the predominantly Negro 24th district, chairman of a legislative committee that investigated Detroit's $50-million-dollar poverty program, said that the committee's report, detailing numerous allegations of fraud in the use of federal funds, has been on file in Cubow's office since May but that federal officials have been "dragging their heels" in following up on the committee's findings.

If confirmed, Cubow would fill the vacancy on the federal bench caused by elevation of District Judge Wade H. McCree to the 6th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals, at Cincinnati. McCree was active in the Detroit chapter of the NAACP before serving as a city and a county judge in Detroit. Another NAACP leader, Damon J. Keith, formerly co-chairman of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, was recently appointed a judge of the federal Court in Detroit.

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Do We Really Want a National Primary?

By FREDERIC NELSON

After every national convention an anguished cry arises in the general sense of "This must never happen again!" This year the Republicans are attacked for providing too little high drama, the Democrats for providing too much. "There must be a better way," chant Forward-Looking People, and the better way now fashionable is a national primary. Both parties would engage in a coast-to-coast primary, thereby nominating candidates for President and vice president without benefit of brass bands, mobs of people in funny hats carrying signs, and "demonstrations."

Superficially this sounds like a good idea, but there is a strong case against it which I haven't seen anybody else making. So, at the risk of being written off as a disgruntled reactionary awaiting the Second Coming of Coolidge, I'll take a whack at it. After all, we *could* have national conventions without the nonsense if, for one thing, the number of delegates were cut by half for the Republicans and by three-quarters for the Democrats. Surely it isn't necessary to reward quite so many local hat-holders with a trip every four years to get the business of the parties out of the way.

Too numerous or not, delegates to national conventions, meeting and maybe "having one" with colleagues from other parts of the country, gain insight into problems which may not have seemed earth-shaking in their own home districts. The party becomes something more than a provider of "coattails" for local candidates to ride on. It's a big-time national outfit whose product can be sold from coast to coast with pride.

Another reform, which has been suggested often enough, is to cut down on platforms, which are seldom mentioned two days after the delegates leave town and which account for such brawls as the Democrats got themselves into over whether the Viet Nam plank should be "Surrender Now" or "something may turn up." Excluding TV and radio would be a help, but let's not dream idly!

However, whether it is possible to endow national conventions with a degree of sanity or not, I submit it is better to keep them than to upset the political apple cart by adopting nationwide primaries. The convention has functions which primaries, whether state or national, cannot carry out. Perhaps a good place to start from would be a hypothesis of how national primaries might have gone this year.

The Democratic primary, preceded by a wave of oratory, public opinion polls and propaganda for instant peace, could well have worked out, as so many state primaries did, with Sen. Eugene McCarthy ahead. With today's instant communications capable of arousing people to fever heat, popular response to an inflammatory issue is unpredictable. Even the Republicans in similar circumstances might have gone hell-bent for a dove candidate. Such an eventuality would have recorded that one day's "will of the people," as Sen. McCarthy has often pointed out, a decision which scheming politicians, hiding behind the arras or the klieg lights, somehow manage to thwart.

Precisely that, in my opinion, is the machine politician's excuse for living—to rule out the crackpots, thereby giving the people not necessarily what they thought they wanted on national primary day but what they are almost certain to want when the chips are down.

By the time Sen. McCarthy and his cohorts arrived in Chicago it must have been obvious to any experienced politician, machine or homespun, that the senator was not the kind of candidate a responsible party could go to the country with. Retreat from Viet Nam was bad enough, but firing J. Edgar Hoover and traipsing over to Paris to ride herd on Ave Harriman's marathon talk-in with the Communists stamped McCarthy as a good club fighter but one not up to a championship match. Had we had a national primary back in the spring, the Democratic party could have been stuck with McCarthy and, in the by no means impossible event of his election, the U.S.A. would have been stuck with him too. And hasn't the USSR had enough evidence of our irresolution as things are?

So the management had to take over. I suspect they could have managed without all that military, but in any event they had to look about for a more responsible candidate. The nearest thing to one turned out to be Hubert Humphrey who is highly regarded by the union bosses, the party hacks and the minorities, and would not put the party in the unenviable position of repudiating its own Administration. The Peace

Author Nelson points out that if a national primary were in force this year, the Democrats might have been stuck with Gene McCarthy, who represents a minority point of view among Demo party pros.

The party convention system may have its faults, but it has produced, in the main, men of ability and integrity for the nation's highest office. Above, Richard Nixon campaigns in North Carolina.

Now people got it into their heads that Humphrey was a warmonger, although by now he may have watered down the Viet Nam plank to suit his campaign necessities. Anyway, he looked to the front office more presentable than McCarthy—just as back in 1952 Adlai Stevenson looked a couple of notches safer than Estes Kefauver who had won most of the primaries.

The people—or such of them as were Democrats—thought on primary day that they favored a man with a coonskin cap and a pretty wife, but the machine bosses thought otherwise and vetoed Estes. This time, in crisis year 1968, the machine bosses wisely figured that it was safer to go to the country on gradual "accommodation" rather than sudden surrender. What an unbossed convention would have done boggles the mind.

Fortunately for the Republicans, the managers at Miami had no pin-up boy to trouble their deliberations. The nearest to such a candidate would have been Nelson Rockefeller, whose claims to popularity rested on polls rather than primaries. All the bosses had to do was hold the fort for Mr. Nixon.

Machine politicians are hard-nosed characters whose first task is to get their party into power, but by and large they understand that it is difficult to do this unless they can get rid of the kooks. After all, the convention system has come up with pretty solid nominees, from Lincoln to Cleveland, Wilson, McKinley, T. R., Hoover, F. D. R., Kennedy and Eisenhower, if I must be fair to all.

To be sure, there have been lapses. The 1920 selection of Harding represents what happens when the bosses think it is safe to rise above principle. The managers, suspecting that the competition was far from formidable, picked a man whose appearance, physical and sartorial, was the very image of a statesman. They seem not to have cased him in depth. How that turned out has been a salutary lesson to politicians ever since. The Republican managers in 1940 let the galleries pick the candidate for them, but Wendell Willkie was probably regarded as a throw-away.

Earlier, in 1896, a Democratic convention went hysterical over a young delegate from Nebraska named William Jennings Bryan who stampeded the place with a speech in which he got the price of silver somehow mixed up with the Crown of Thorns. In November GOP Boss Mark Hanna, depicted by contemporary cartoonists in a checked suit splashed over with dollar signs, took care of Bryan; with the assistance of Gold Democrats William McKinley was elected.

It looked easy in 1896, but suppose Bryan had had radio! I heard him at Madison Square Garden in 1924 when he was an old man, and he almost moved me, although his client was the Ku Klux Klan! (Note: What would F. D. R. have done *without* radio?) The 1924 convention, incidentally, slows what happens when you have two sets of equally powerful bosses instead of one. With Smith and McAdoo locked in a death-grapple, the convention, in battle fatigue, picked John Davis, a sure loser.

If popular government is to survive, it must be equipped, as James Madison foresaw, with devices to give the people an opportunity for sober second thought. Thus one important function of the Senate, whose members were to be chosen by state legislatures, was to be the correction of rash decisions made by the popularly selected House of Representatives. Failing sober second thought at that level, there was the Supreme Court, then naively supposed to be far above the alarms and excursions which agitate the sweating multitude.

We have junked most representative government in favor of instant democracy, and the party convention has been almost the sole survival of the balance-of-power tradition. It has a similar task: to protect the people from the consequences of their own emotion-generated decisions; and to answer the question: "Will they love this guy in November like they thought they loved him in May?"

It's tough going for bosses under present conditions, with youth taking to the streets at the drop of a gavel, but not even hostility to Mayor Daley of Chicago should blind Americans to the fact that in critical times fanatics can be terrbly persuasive, at least temporarily. In a nationwide primary, with nobody in "smoke-filled rooms" to head them off, such candidates would likely be odds-on favorites against realistically conservative opponents.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

Texas' 13th District

Crowley vs. Purcell

Democratic Rep. Graham Purcell is running scared—so scared, in fact, that from July 1 until the recent House recess, Purcell actually answered all but three of 47 rollcalls.

That was quite an accomplishment for an incumbent who usually misses one of every three votes. By not so strange coincidence, Purcell's attendance picked up at the same time time his GOP opponent, Dallas County Commissioner Frank Crowley, was stepping up his attacks on the incumvent's "inexcusable" absentee record.

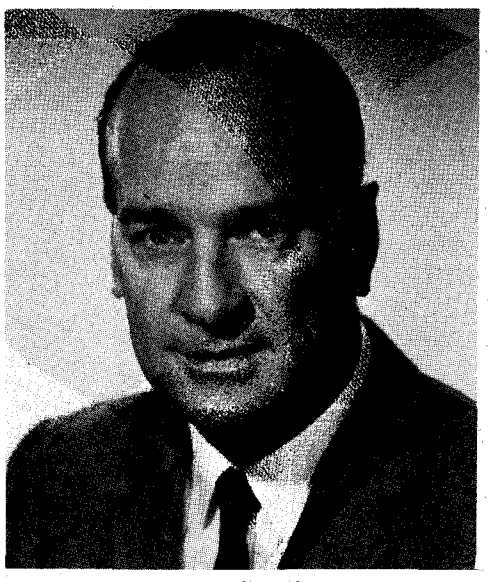
Purcell was nowhere to be found when the House took up the anti-crime bill earlier this year. He was absent when a proposal came before the House took up a major economy measure—an amendment to slash federal spending $8.5 billion.

It may have been just as well. For when he is present, Purcell is more often than not supporting the Johnson Administration. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action give him a skimpy 30 per cent rating and he has gone on record defending such Administration schemes as the rent subsidy program, model cities, and public power.

Republican Crowley is making Purcell's record the major issue in his campaign. He characterizes his opponent as one who makes "agreeably conservative speeches, but consistently 'goes along to get along'—even by voting to continue foreign aid to nations trading with our enemy in North Viet Nam."

Crowley, who has waged a gruelling campaign over the past several months, is hoping to return to Washington, where he served from 1955 to 1959 as the administrative assistant to Texas' first GOP congressman, Bruce Alger.

After going back to Texas in 1960,



CROWLEY

Crowley became the first Republican in history to be elected a Dallas County Commissioner. Four years later, he was re-elected in a landslide, tripling his 1960 victory margin.

In the same year, Purcell was re-elected 2 to 1, but by 1966 his record was beginning to catch up with him. The GOP percentage rose from 33 to 43 per cent and Republican leaders are confident they can erase Purcell's plurality altogether. They note that Sen. John Tower carried the district with 59 per cent of the vote two years ago—and in the words of one Republican strategist, "Crowley's running the same kind of race." Indeed, two recent surveys indicate that Crowley has eaten away Purcell's early lead and the race is now considered a toss-up. (Crowley for Congress Committee: Box 1312, Richardson, Tex. 75080.)

Crowley's tough stand on crime has won him wide support. Nothing that Purcell didn't even bother to vote on the anti-crime bill, Purcell has promised voters he will battle hard against lawlessness. "When it come to the war on crime," he says, "I am a hawk."

Virginia's 5th District

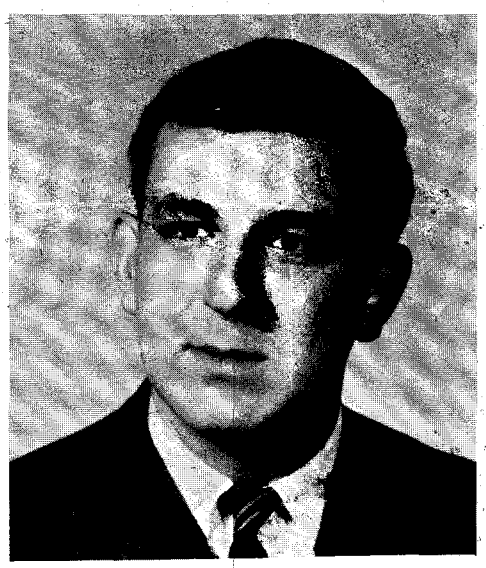
Tuck vs. Daniel

Voters in Virginia's 5th Congressional District have a chance to prevent a vote from being cast for Hubert Humphrey if the Presidential election is thrown into the House.

The 10-man Virginia delegation is now divided six-four and each of the GOP incumbents is favored for re-election. By electing Weldon W. Tuck to Congress, 5th District voters would be politically neutralizing the state's congressional delegation line-up.

And, reports the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*, Republican chances are excellent. The 5th District, perhaps the most conservative in all of Virginia, has for the past 15 years been represented by Democrat William Tuck, a former governor and a staunch conservative.

But Rep. Tuck is stepping down and his distant nephew Weldon, a 27-year-old Republican, is campaigning at top speed to capture the seat. Republicans took 44 per cent of the vote two years ago and with



TUCK

the veteran Tuck out of the race, GOP chances are materially improved.

Young Tuck, a South Boston, Va., broker, is waging a self-styled "neighbor-to-neighbor" campaign that has taken him throughout the district meeting voters and spelling out his conservative philosophy.

Tuck's vigorous campaign, which keeps him going from early morning to late at night, is in sharp contrast to that waged by his Democratic opponent, W. C. (Dan) Daniel of Danville. Daniel, a textile executive and member of the Virginia House of Delegates, is apparently relying on the traditional "courthouse gang" to get out the Democratic vote this fall.

He is making relatively few speeches and adamantly refuses to appear on the same platform with his Republican opponent. Daniel is campaigning as a conservative in the Byrd-Tuck tradition but the fact of the matter is that he served as a delegate to the 1964 Democratic convention that nominated Lyndon Johnson by acclamation.

The Tuck-Daniel race is complicated by a third candidate, Negro attorney Ruth L. Harvey, who is running as an independent. Miss Harvey, who made an impressive run for the House of Delegates last year, is expected to run very strongly among Negro voters, who make up an estimated one-fourth of the district's 140,000 voters.

The Tuck campaign was kicked off July 4, when Julie Nixon and young David Eisenhower visited the district to plug for Tuck's election. Texas Sen. John Tower will make five different appearances October 4 and other GOP leaders are expected to visit the district, which has been given a "top priority" rating by party strategists. (Tuck for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 337, South Boston, Va., 24592.)

Tuck is a political veteran, despite his age. Elected chairman of the Halifax County-South Boston Republican Committee in 1963, he was recognized as the nation's youngest political chairman. A year later when he served as a Goldwater delegate to the GOP national convention, he was the party's youngest delegate.

Maryland's 5th District

Hogan vs. Machen

The "experts" told Larry Hogan he was foolhardy when he announced for Congress in 1966. The former FBI agent was a Republican running in a district where Democrats held a 3-to-1 registration edge. He was unknown and under-financed.

But when the campaign was over, Hogan had tallied 46 per cent of the vote, losing by less than 8,000 votes out of more than 103,000 cast. It was the strongest showing by a GOP congressional candidate in that district in almost two decades.

"I didn't expect to win in 1966," Hogan said recently. "As a Republican in the 5th District you've got to run twice if you want to have any chance of winning. But I do intend to win this time out."

Hogan is leaving nothing to chance. For more than a year, he and his volunteer workers have built a precinct-by-precinct organization throughout the suburban Washington district. Full-time headquarters have been functioning since July 1967 and Hogan himself has campaigned energetically, establishing himself—in the words of the Washington *Post*—"as the first serious threat to Democratic dominance in more than a dozen years." (Hogan for Congress Committee: Box 2035, Hyattsville, Md. 20784.)

The GOP nominee is again taking on Hervey Machen, the two-term Democratic incumbent whose record of Administration support is the highest of any Maryland lawmaker. Machen, a colorless career politician, backed LBJ on 89 per cent of the 1967 roll calls, giving the Administration crucial support on such issues as rent subsidies, aid to education, and the war on poverty. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education gives Machen a 91 per cent rating and has promised him ample financial support.

Machen's vulnerability was demonstrated in last week's Democratic primary, when he was renominated with only 41 per cent of the vote. Hogan, in contrast, won his party's nomination 5 to 1.

HOGAN

Noting that three of every five Democrats voted against Machen, Hogan is making an all-out pitch for their support. "I believe that the day is past when citizens slavishly vote their party line," he says.

Hogan, who has won headlines throughout the district for his work in fighting local corruption, is making crime a central issue. A member of Gov. Spiro Agnew's Commission on Law Enforcement, he says that concern about lawlessness cuts across party lines. "Citizens of the 5th District," he says, "are fed up with a government that seems unable or unwilling to cope with our appalling crime problem."

The Hogan race has possible presidential implications. Should the presidential election be thrown into the House of Representatives, Maryland would now cast its vote for Hubert Humphrey. But if the Republicans hold onto their current three seats—which they are expected to do—and elect Hogan, the eight-man Free State delegation would be split four-four along party lines and Humphrey would be denied the Maryland vote.

"There is a great interest in Maryland's 5th District," says I. Lee Potter of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, "And I would have to say that the implications for the presidential race are a primary consideration."

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Seek Route to South Africa

Rebels Step Up Activity Against Mozambique

By RICHARD J. BOCKLET

Beira, Mozambique:—For four years now, Communist-backed black guerrillas have been waging a hit-and-run, terrorist war in this Portuguese province. The job of extinguishing them grows harder as the caliber of training and arms becomes more sophisticated. And the cost of routing the rebels in the northern Districts of Niassa and Cabo Delgado is high. About 45 per cent of Portugal's budget is devoted to the military effort in the territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, in West Africa. Here, there are presently between 50,000 and 60,000 Portuguese and local soldiers.

The rebel plan is quite simple: to place this territory of seven million Africans and only about 150,000 Portuguese in black hands. This accomplished, the road through Mozambique to South Africa's rich heartland would be established. (In June, evidence of the international scope of rebel activity became more apparent with the capture of a Pan Africanist Congress band, one of South Africa's terrorist organizations. Passing through Mozambique en route to their homeland, Portuguese forces encircled them northeast of the districts of Manica and Sofala, near the Zambian border. They carried heavy arms, strategy documents and other compromising material.)

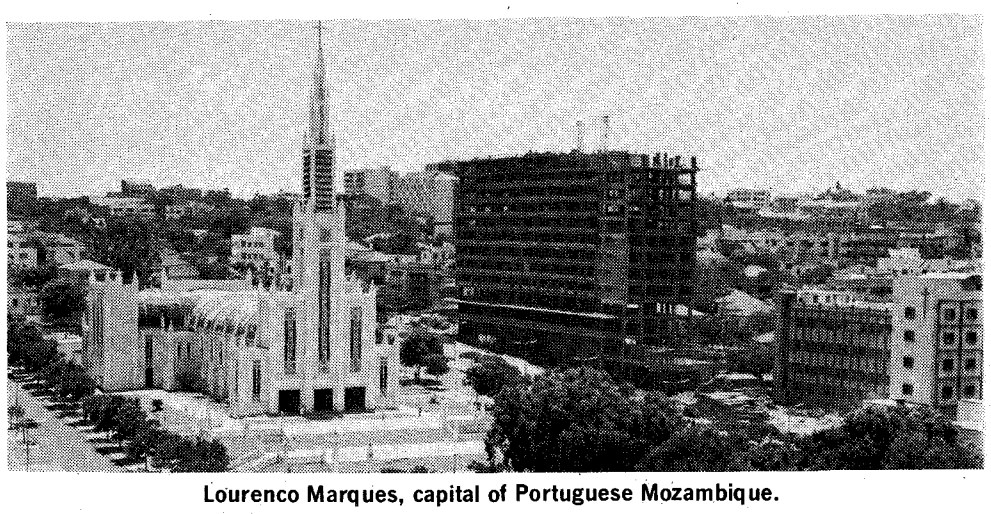
Mozambique guerrillas receive supplies and haven from the neighboring black-ruled countries of Tanzania and Zambia. Tanzania is the major training and finance base for the Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). It maintains headquarters there, gets aid, plans strategy. In the southern part of the Mitwara region, FRELIMO forces receive guerrilla warfare instruction, with one of its main bases located around the town of Songea.

Portuguese troops chase rebels to the 450-mile Tanzanian border, and then, helplessly, watch them flee to safety. A similiar situation, although on a smaller scale, exists to the west, where the district of Tete borders on hostile Zambian territory. Attackers thrust into Mozambique in the dark of night, ambush a small army or police patrol and scurry to nearby refuge before reinforcements arrive. Official policy is to avoid open clashes with neighboring countries that hot pursuit might foster.

The rebels claim 20 per cent of Mozambique territory under their control, while reliable sources feel perhaps 5 per cent is a more accurate figure. Guerrillas operate in desolate country where only about 12 per cent of the population lives. The isolation and rugged terrain make government protection there difficult. Estimates of rebel size run from 3,000 to 7,000—a part of these being just "part-time" terrorists.

Ambushes and bombings are the usual activities which cost the lives of, by official count, an average of around 10 Portuguese soldiers monthly. Guerrilla figures of government deaths run much higher. Although casualty figures rose somewhat during the spring they have slumped during summer months. During the period May through June, the Armed Forces claim to have killed 209 terrorists.

Mr. Bocklet, a frequent contributor to Human Events, *is now traveling in Africa.*



Lourenco Marques, capital of Portuguese Mozambique.

Recently captured weapons include machine guns, assault rifles, mortars, bazookas, rocket launchers, small arms, grenades, and anti-vehicle and anti-personnel mines. Walkie-talkies and short-wave transmitters help keep raiding parties and guerrilla bases in close contact. The government maintains permanent exhibition halls in Lourenco Marques and Beira of captured rebel arms—the vast majority of Russian, Red Chinese and East European origin.

Reliable sources indicate weapons are shipped to Zanzibar and Tanzania, and then either sent directly south into Mozambique's guerrilla territories, or over to Lusaka, Zambia and then down across that border. From Tanzania, also, as well as China, Russia and Egypt, come regular short-wave attacks on the government and praise and encouragement for rebel forces. Dar-es-Salaam, reports go, beams coded messages to terrorists during regular transmission.

In assessing the situation, one local observer said: "As long as Tanzania and Zambia—but especially Tanzania—are permitted to freely provide arms and sanctuary for these outlaw forces, there is no end in sight to this war. The guerrillas here—much like the Viet Cong—can always terrorize and pressure locals to join their ranks. The source seems limitless." The general feeling here is that the situation is deadlocked—the Portuguese are as willing and capable of holding out as long as the rebels.

But the government realizes that the battle against the terrorists is not just a military one. The Portuguese think they can pull the psychological rug from under them by bettering social and economic conditions.

Officials here often stress that there is no color bar. In theory all Africans are Portuguese citizens. They fill police and military posts as well as whites. Portuguese men sometimes marry local women and one can see black and white living in the same areas, both in urban and rural settings.

Although three-quarters of the territory's foreign earnings come from exports of agricultural crops—principally cotton, cashew nuts and sugar—areas of mineral development are being opened. Iron deposits have been discovered. So have natural gas fields. Representatives of foreign oil companies are searching for oil and feel the possibilities are good.

Meanwhile, the government has just contracted a South African concern to construct a $280-million hydro-electric project in the Kebrabasa gorge of the Zambesi River in the northern district of Tete. When completed, the Cabora Bassa scheme will be the most important of its kind, benefiting Mozambique, Malawi, Rhodesia and Zambia with the cheapest electric power available in Africa. The government foresees this as a major development area which will attract upwards of one million settlers.

In the terrorist-infested districts themselves the Portuguese are counting heavily on their *aldeamento* program. Capt. Carvalho Araugo, aide-de-camp of the governor-general, explained to the writer: "These consolidated villages offer inhabitants of isolated regions both protection from the terrorists and a chance at economic betterment. These cooperative farming communities receive government aid and have better access to market areas."

Size of the approximately 250 *aldeamentos* that dot the territories of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete districts range from several hundred to 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants. About 300,000 people have been settled in the *aldeamentos* so far. Once set up, natives choose their own "voluntary militia" which then is government-armed and trained.

While this guerrilla war will probably continue for some time, Portuguese authorities feel that Mozambique's social and economic strides will undercut rebel support and enable the territory to stay viable and free.

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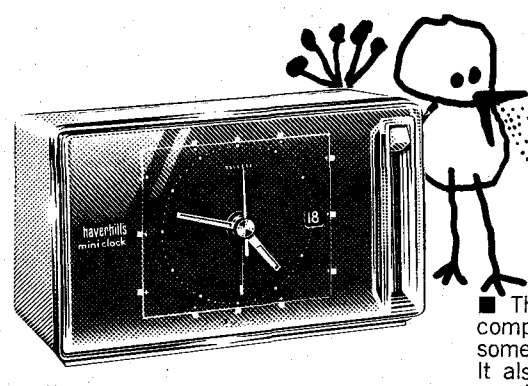

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Horatio Alger Rides Again!

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Some months ago, I ran an angry note from a Berkeley student, wroth at my propagation of the "Horatio Alger myth"—the doctrine that with guts and gumption one can rise from the most humble beginnings. "Then why," he asked rhetorically, "do the rich grow richer and the poor poorer, and we now have the hopeless poverty that brought about the current revolt?"

In rebuttal, I suggested he lift his eyes from his collectivist textbooks and pick at random 100 successful Americans in any field. The odds were, I said, that 99 of them came, not long ago, from the other side of the tracks.

Not hearing further from him, I thought I had won my case. But later I learned that a coed in Bethesda, Md., has picked up the gauntlet and flung it into my teeth via a letter in the Washington *Star*. A major in American history, the learned lady exposed my ignorance thus:

"I hate to break his trusting heart . . . Many American success stories of the last century owe their happy ending to tremendous greed, and consequently to the broken lives of the countless poor. Nor would I destroy his naive faith in the rags-to-riches origin of today's business leaders . . . Statistics demonstrate today's successful man comes, more often than not, of a well-to-do family; that there just aren't that many delivery-boy to corporation president phenomena any more.

"The fact is our society has lost its physical frontiers, and its need for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, the first step in the Horatio Alger ladder . . . Go to the back of the class, Mr. Ryskind."

Now, neither Alger nor I ever maintained there weren't advantages in being brought up on the right side of the tracks; but rather that it was possible, in this blessed land, to make the transition with a little elbow grease.

I thought of answering by citing the cases of a score of life-long friends and 100 later acquaintances, all of whom had made it even though starting from scratch.

And of referring her to the Sunday "help wanted" section of any big city newspaper, for proof that hundreds of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs were going begging. And I intended to point out that it's hard to rise from delivery-boy to corporation president if you refuse to start as delivery-boy.

But I realized such irrelevant data would be laughed off by my critic. Her more reliable statistics are apparently arrived at by taking a poll among 1,300 leftwing professors from Berkeley to Bethesda.

So I gave up, put on my dunce cap and went to the back of the class, where I furtively shed a tear over Horatio Alger's passing.

But then came the national conventions. At Miami, the GOP picked as its standard bearer Dick Nixon, who used to help out in his dad's grocery store—which meant wrapping packages and delivering them, too. Yet he became congressman, senator, vice president, and now has an excellent chance of being President—not of a corporation, to be sure, but of the U.S.A., which isn't a bad consolation prize.

And for his running mate they chose the son of a Greek immigrant who ran a small restaurant—which hardly implies little Spiro Agnew was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. And yet this non-WASP became governor of Maryland—and look at him now! Score another for the Alger legend.

And the Demos chose HHH, whose middle name suggests someone in the family read the Horatio Alger stories. Hubert, too, was a victim of child labor; as a boy, he worked on his grandfather's farm, and later helped out in his dad's drugstore.

Nor was Ed Muskie precisely born to the purple. What chance was there for the son of an immigrant Polish tailor in a small town like Rumford, Maine? How young Ed must have suffered for his Catholicism in a typical Yankee environment!

The underprivileged lad had to work his way through college and law school. And yet—again the Horatio Alger touch—the bigoted Maine electorate made him governor and then senator. And who knows how far he will go?

Yes, Virginia, there *is* a Horatio Alger. And all those academic phonies, from Berkeley to Maryland, who deny his existence in their false history and economics text-books, ought to have their mouths washed with soap.

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Will USSR Extend Drive?

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Russia is now in position to extend its brutal Czechoslovak aggression to Rumania and Yugoslavia at any time.

Despite the worldwide barrage of sanctimonious denials and befuddling propaganda to the contrary, the Kremlin has emplaced powerful military forces so as to be able to strike fast and hard at the two defiant Communist-ruled countries.

It is this sinister possibility that was behind President Johnson's angry warning against further Soviet aggressions and his long meetings with the National Security Council.

What he and his top military, intelligence and diplomatic advisors know, but have given no public hint of, is the following foreboding development:

Simultaneous with the ruthless armed invasion of Czecholovakia, there began a big build-up of Russian naval and air strength in the Mediterranean. This ominous activity is still continuing.

When it started, the Soviet had some 50 surface warships in this strategic tinderbox area—cruisers, destroyers, missile ships and other craft, plus a number of submarines. At least 25 of the former have been added, and nuclear-powered subs have joined the underwater units.

All these Russian naval vessels are using Egyptian ports and facilities as operating bases. The Reds now completely dominate the Egyptian facilities.

Much the same has happened in air build-up.

A number of TU-16 medium jet bombers have taken over Egyptian airfields. The planes have newly painted Egyptian markings, but the pilots and maintenance crews are Russian. Intelligence estimates there are now upwards of 2,000 Soviet airmen in Egypt.

This foreboding naval and air build-up is aimed directly at Yugoslavia and Rumania.

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"An activist at heart, his pen was consistently committed to support the cause of freedom. But, as he reported the world's turmoils, this autobiography reveals how his outlook gradually evolved from youthful anarchism to militant anti-communism. . . .

" . . . Mowrer feared the world's passive acceptance of communism would only lead to more wars in a world where 'peace between sovereign states could never be more than truce. . . .'

"Mowrer's hard line will undoubtedly be rejected by those who lack his direct experience with history. However, as a world observer who has cried wolf for more than 50 years, he has often been proved distressingly right. . . ."—By F. Yorick Blumenfeld in **Newsweek**

NEGOTIATING WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS: THE UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE by Kenneth T. Young (McGraw-Hill, 461 pages, $10.95)

"Mr. Young's book starts with the Panmunjom talks, but soon moves to Geneva in 1954, where there were parallel meetings on Korea and Indo-China. These meetings brought together for the first time top representatives of the American and Chinese governments. . . .

"This . . . led later in 1955 to what became the marathon Sino-American bilateral 'Ambassadorial Talks,' first in Geneva and then in Warsaw. Over the next 13 years these talks have continued at irregular intervals, 'virtually empty of results but full of consequences. . . .'

"During all this period the only positive agreement between the two was one in 1955 to expedite the return of civilians to their respective countries. Later, each side accused the other of reneging on this. . . ."—By Eric Britter in **Saturday Review**

FIRES IN THE IN-BASKET: The ABC's of the State Department by John P. Leacacos (World, 552 pages, $8.95)

" . . . a Washington correspondent's sophisticated study of the State Department and its relation to the American people, our communications media, the Congress, foreign nations, other governmental departments, and the President. Covered are the routines, methods of handling crises, intelligence systems, and State's probable role in the future."—From **Publisher'sWeekly**

THE RIDDLE OF LESTER MADDOX by Bruce Galphin (Camelot Publishing Co., 222 pages, $5.95)

" . . . Galphin has tried, with no cooperation from the governor, to understand the man in the total context of character and events. The portrait that emerges is sometimes sympathetically moving. Aside from his overriding obsession with segregation, he is a man of abilities, hard-working, self-made, cussed and spunky. He does not smoke, drink, or use profanity. He is essentially decent, but hung up on an issue that he cannot resolve within himself. The results are unfortunate and, Galphin fears, likely to become worse, for rejection by such conservatives as Goldwater could drive him to more extreme positions and associations.

"Yet Maddox surprised everyone as governor. He declared in his inaugural address: 'There will be no place in Georgia during the next four years for those who advocate extremism or violence. . . .' He has 'hired more Negroes in white-collar state jobs than any of his predecessors.' He has carried out vigorous reforms of Georgia's prison system and sponsored the early-release program for both juvenile and adult prisoners. In spite of his segregation beliefs he has not cut off Georgia's school system from federal funds and has raised teachers' salaries. . . .

"The South is the x-factor in this presidential election. This book by an able newspaperman is a valuable contribution to the understanding of Southern politics and politicians. It also works a rich vein of American lore."—By Edmund Fuller in the **Wall Street Journal**

THE CONDITION OF REPUBLICANISM by Nick Thimmesch (Norton, 272 pages, $5.95)

"[This] is a new and worthwhile book for Republicans about the future of the party. Thimmesch, Washington Bureau Chief of Newsday, draws on his wide experience as a political reporter to project Republican chances for the next few decades as extremely favorable, if Republicans take advantage of the mood of the country to respond to the challenge with **new** answers to present problems. Thimmesch feels the New Deal is dead, and with it the old opposition to the New Deal. In this period of transition in politics and in philosophy, he believes that the creative society approach of a Ronald Reagan or the 'independent sector' ideas of Richard Cornuelle can become the wave of the future. . . ."—From the American Conservative Union's **Battle Line**

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"An exceptionally clear case study of how a bill becomes an amendment, in this instance the 25th Amendment, about presidential and vice presidential succession procedures. The historical and possible crises were pointed up for Sen. Bayh (D.-Ind.) by President Kennedy's assassination. In November 1963 Bayh was chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee's constitutional amendments subcommittee. After the President's death, Bayh immediately went into action on a bill which would prescribe a legal procedure in case of presidential or vice presidential death or presidential disability—a knotty problem, that. Bayh and his staff framed a bill, held hearings, saw the bill through the Senate and House, and worked diligently for its public support. Laymen may want to skip some of the reports of congressional maneuvers, though the hearings testimony, notably that of Richard Nixon and Clinton Rossiter, is highly interesting.

"Foreword by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Preface by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

THE ALMANACK OF POOR RICHARD NIXON. Quotations of Richard M. Nixon (World, 190 pages, $2.)

"Slips, gaffes, oddments, omens, inklings—and some straight-shooting—from the lips of the GOP presidential candidate. Spiflicating."—From **Christian Century**

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While Newsmen Were Restricted

Cosa Nostra Allies Roamed Chicago Convention Floor

By VICTOR RIESEL

This tortured Democratic National Convention must not go into limbo until it is reported that among the thousands of delegates were friends, allies and counselors of the deadliest Cosa Nostra characters.

True, they were but a handful sprinkled through several delegations. But they pressured and voted, and had the freedom of the floor denied to us newsmen.

Therfore it must be concluded that someone in the security setup of the old Democratic National Committee, now dumped by "the Hump" as the jargon has it, thought that intimates of ex-convict Johnny Dio, convict Jimmy Hoffa, and buddies of such criminals as the St. Louis area's Frank "Buster" Wortman, were far more trustworthy than the newsmen.

The mystery now is: who approved freedom for the friends and counselors of the hoods while tying down reporters and honored guests?

For example, at 8:06 p.m. Wednesday, August 28, the night of the presidential nomination, I wandered from the tight newspaper press tables into another part of the press section. A polite uniformed guard asked me to return to my seat.

I refused since there was no sane security reason for not walking up and down the press aisle. Quietly and politely, the guard said he had his orders. "We're on especially strict security alert tonight," said the chap, "and it would help if you did sit down."

He made no move. He did not push, shove or use his hands. All he would say was that he had his orders.

This was a repetition of what had happened on Tuesday. Then the "orders" were that no newspapers could be brought onto the convention floor. Those were "orders." From whom? Nobody knew.

I checked with Andy Frain, head of the Chicago-based ushers' agency retained to supply 500 men and women for the traffic control inside the amphitheater. Mr. Frain, who runs a union shop, pointed out that he uses mostly young people.

He reported that 150 of his men were at doors, which had to remain open because of fire regulations. Another 175 were on the floor. There were 125 girls, 75 usherettes and 50 hostesses. They were directed by 50 supervisors. All 500 were in uniform.

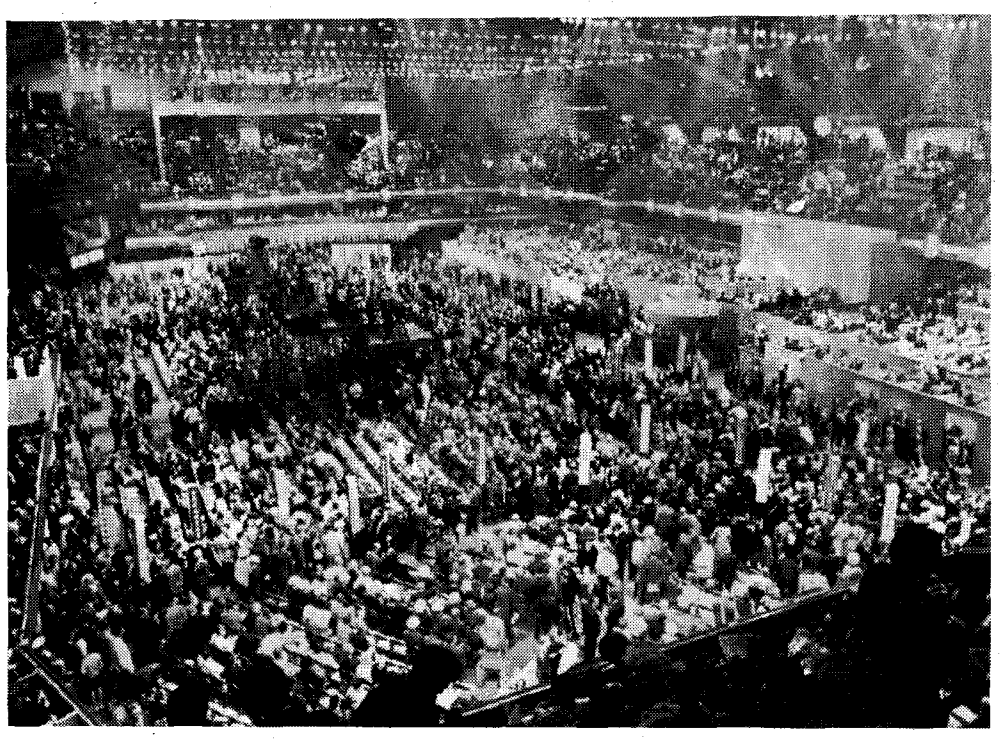
Mr. Frain said he was not in "security" at all.

"It wasn't until late Saturday (before the opening) that we learned from the Democratic National Committee that they would install those (credentials-checking) electronic machines. We stayed up until 5 a.m. to train our people and get out mimeographed instructions.

"And do remember that our people were in uniform—except for about 10 of us, the family and top management, who were in civilian clothes. None of us was deputized."

Who then were the muscle-happy plainclothesmen? Were they Chicago city police? Were they secret service operatives? Were they federal marshals? Were they just overgrown huskies, with no heads, just necks with hair grown over, retained to push us around? If so, they were not deputized.

They were told to keep their eyes on the New York and California delegations. They were told to watch for hand grenades. They were told to be particularly tough on newsmen. Who told them? Did the orders come from the convention management? Or from some government agency?



Columnist Riesel notes that the stringent security precautions in effect at the Democratic convention hampered newsmen while others seemed to have free rein to move about.

Which now brings us to the official 126-page listing of convention delegates and alternates. I've spent days checking each name. Thousands of them are estimable ladies and gentlemen, governors, legislators, mayors and just plain political folk.

There were Teamsters officials on that floor. Some have wined, dined and run with such men as the New York Mafia chief, Johnny Dio, and Chicago's Joey Glimco, who has been charged by Senate racket-busting witnesses with being one of 19 men influencing Chicago's criminal syndicate. Glimco is a Teamsters official.

On that convention floor were such congressmen as Jimmy Hoffa's friend, Missouri Sen. Edward Long and New Jersey Rep. Cornelius Gallagher. Both have been charged with suspect relationships by the press for some time now.

Yet all these men were cleared for freedom on the floor. But we newsmen and our newspapers were banned. Why? Are we second-class citizens?

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But also on that convention floor were such men as the St. Louis' Pipefitters Local 562 assistant business manager, John (Doc) Lawler. He is the front for ex-convict Lawrence Callanan, boss of that local. Both now are under federal indictment for conspiring to violate the Corrupt Practices Act. Both know "Buster" Wortman.

U.S. RADICALS IN CUBA—"Two or three Americans" are enrolled in a revolutionary training school in the Cuban mountains, the Associated Press reported recently. Also attending classes at Camp Fifth of May (the date is Karl Marx' birthday) are several hundred revolutionaries from France, Sweden, Viet Nam, England, Norway, Denmark and West Germany.

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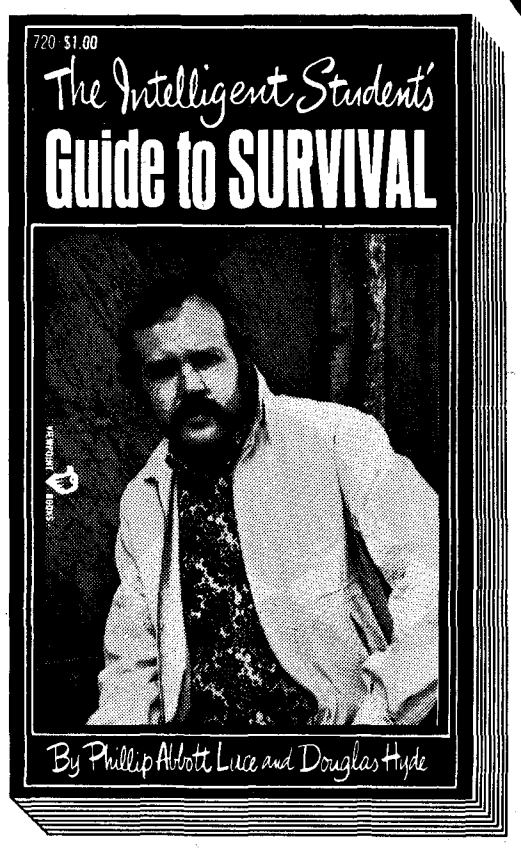

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The Case for a Voluntary Army

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Aviemore, Scotland—After listening to the all-things-to-all-men promises of politicians at two national conventions, it is a relief to come to the annual conference of the Mont Pelerin Society, whose members, prominent economists from many countries, have been fighting the world drift to socialism on many fronts for 20 years.

One of the conspicuous absentees at this year's convocation at Aviemore in the starkly beautiful Scotch highlands is Dr. Martin Anderson, the urban specialist who is enlisted in the Richard Nixon brain trust.

Marty Anderson has been responsible for a proposed Nixon position paper on the desirability of a voluntary army. His boss, at last reports, had settled for the Anderson conclusions that a voluntary army would be both cheaper to maintain and more efficient than an army of reluctant draftees. But Nixon qualified his acceptance of the Anderson idea by saying, in effect, "Not now, but after Viet Nam." Whereupon Hubert Humphrey accused Nixon of being irresponsible for opening his mouth on the subject.

Richard Nixon has accepted for the most part many of Dr. Anderson's proposals about a voluntary army.

This is one more count which the younger generation can hold against the nominee they deride as "the Hump." If there is one thing that glues the hippies, the Yippies, the Students for a Democratic Society, the young McCarthyites and the Kennedy idolators together, it is a hatred of the draft. Thousands of young people who are not formally committed politically hate it too. The right-wing Young Americans for Freedom make the chorus unanimous. So the military draft is surely doomed in the next generation.

What will be the social cost of shifting from compulsory military service to a voluntary army?

At one of the papers read at this Aviemore meeting of Martin Anderson's fellow Mont Pelerians, Dr. Cotton M. Lindsay of the University of Virginia presented rather convincing evidence that society loses more than it gains by conscripting its young men. Dr. Lindsay concedes that the direct cost of financing a conscript army is relatively cheap: You simply grab a kid of 18, pay him a pittance, and tell him it is his duty to forego his training for a civilian career for two years.

But, says Dr. Lindsay, the hidden cost to society of relying on conscription far exceeds the amount of money saved by reliance on compulsion.

For one thing, every young man who comes of military age in the U.S. is welcomed to maturity by an eight-year period of havoc. He may be grabbed for the army on a month's notice; on the other hand, he may wait around five years, unable to obtain decent employment because he can't promise continuity in a job. The uncertainty means that every young generation wastes crucial years that might be devoted to the development of unique and irreplaceable talents.

As Dr. Lindsay puts it, "a conscripted army is usually made up of individuals selected at random from the population as a whole. Scientists, artists, and engineers are indiscriminately called away from their valuable endeavors in these capacities to paint rocks and peel potatoes. . .Clearly cost might be reduced if, rather than this group chosen at random, another group were selected on the basis of competitive bidding. 'Expensive' individuals would then eliminate themselves while the 'cheaper' individuals would vie to be selected. A voluntary army is for this reason likely to cost less (to society) than the conscripted army and is preferable on the basis of efficiency considerations."

The objection to the Lindsay theory is moral, not economic. But to justify the seizure of any young man's body for compulsory service, every member of society should be subjected to the same ordeal. This is a practical impossibility.

First of all, only a picked number of individuals possess the specialized physical attributes required of soldiers. Secondly, if all young men were required to serve an equal amount of time, a hopeless cycle of wasted training would result. The armed services can't use every young man. And if "national service" were required of those not qualified to be soldiers, we would waste the formative years of an incalculable number of artists, scientists, technicians, administrators and what-not in menial make-work jobs. Again, the cost to society would far exceed the benefits gained by compulsion.

The ideas expressed by Dr. Anderson and Dr. Lindsay will not be needed this year by either political party. But "after Viet Nam," just watch how quickly the anti-compulsion doctrine takes hold.

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Nixon Seeks Conference With Hoover on Disorders

By PAUL SCOTT

Former Vice President Richard Nixon is seeking a conference with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to discuss his recent warning of planned disorders on college campuses. The Republican Presidential nominee wants to ascertain the factors and forces behind the threatened disturbances and violence.

The proposed meeting, which aides of the former vice president are now trying to arrange, was suggested by Nixon's running-mate, Maryland's Governor Spiro Agnew.

Agnew, who has been linking anti-war protesters to foreign conspiracy in his hard-hitting speeches, urged the conference on two grounds:

• That Nixon should get all the information he can about the explosive student situation so he can determine whether to limit his campaigning on college campuses.

• That both Nixon and he be prepared to speak out against those causing the disorders and any attempts to disrupt the presidential campaign with violence.

Several Republican senators are known to have urged both Nixon and Agnew to demand the publication of an FBI study on Communist infiltration of anti-war and militant student organizations. This comprehensive study has been circulating among high Administration officials since the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, but has never been released.

Existence of this report is known in the Senate, but most of its dynamite-loaded contents are not. It is deemed very likely that Nixon will discuss the contents when he confers with FBI Director Hoover since it involves the security of all the Presidential candidates.

For example, the report quotes Edward Schwartz, outgoing President of the left-leaning National Student Association, as predicting that there would be trouble on any campus visited by Nixon, Humphrey or George Wallace, the third-party candidate.

Paul Krassner, editor of the leftist magazine *The Realist* and described as the spiritual leader of the Yippies, is quoted as saying that the Democratic convention at Chicago was "the last big confrontation: Students will now go underground and take up mild and not-so-mild sabotage."

One of the top FBI informants in militant student groups, according to the report, says the early target for student radicals this fall is expected to be the large (enrollment 33,000) University of Wisconsin at Madison.

As in the recent disorders at Columbia University in New York City, the Wisconsin strategy calls for attacks on "irrelevant" curriculum. The Administration buildings and departmental offices will be occupied.

Campus radicals are planning other demonstrations at Columbia, the University of Michigan, Berkeley (California), Brandeis, Howard University (District of Columbia), and at several all-Negro colleges throughout the country.

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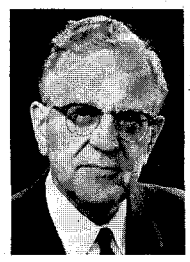
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

No Need for Delay

By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)



Due to the marked lack of effective leadership in the Congress, we may well have to continue in session right on through October. Too much of the important business that could and *should* have been taken care of long ago still remains to be considered.

I feel strongly about this delay for several reasons. First of all, a breakdown in the democratic process results when elected officials can not get home and find out what their constituents think and feel. A senator who must remain in Washington year-round tends to get a distorted picture of the true wants and needs of those he represents. Instead, he should be able to go home and put ideas in their proper perspective by doing some personal "pulse taking."

Secondly, I am appalled at the political maneuvering which has repeatedly delayed consideration of these major issues. In my judgment, it is the responsibility of the leadership to assure that the legislative process is not slowed down by petty obstructionist tactics. By this I mean that bills have been held up by legislative "trading" between members of committees. It is the old "if you'll do this for me, I'll do that for you" game. In addition, we have been plagued by delays simply to accommodate the "political" interest of the Administration. I believe the leadership has failed in this respect.

Court Packing

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N.H.)

Back in the 1830s the French statesman de Tocqueville in his book, Democracy in America, *hit the nail on the head and, at the same time, showed remarkable powers of prophecy: "The President, [with] limited power, may err without causing great mischief in the State. Congress may decide amiss without destroying the Union because the [people may] retract its decisions by changing its members. But if the Supreme Court is ever composed of imprudent men, the Union may be plunged into anarchy or civil war." We are not so far from that now. The people can't reach the Supreme Court because its members serve for life. They can only elect the President who nominates them and the Senate which confirms them. Obviously a retiring President, with the connivance of the chief justice, is seeking to pack the court for many years to come before the people have a chance to vote. I shall not be a party to it.*

The Mismanaged War

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

On December 22, 1961, a young American soldier by the name of james Thomas Davis of Livingston, Tenn., was killed in Viet Nam. He was the first American to die in that faraway war in which we have been involved nearly seven years. Since then, more that 27,000 of our finest young men have died there and more than 175,000 have been maimed or wounded.

I'm going to discuss this war not from the right or wrong of our involvement in it, but from the point of view of its management. It is my opinion that the Viet Nam war will go down in history as the worst managed, most ineptly planned conglomeration of blunders ever put together by this country or any other country.

It is the first war in our history that has been master-minded by civilians almost totally without military training or background.

It is the first war in our history where the decisions are made thousands of miles from the scene of action.

It is the first war in our history where top-ranking generals have little or no say in the over-all strategy.

It is the first war in our history where computers have too often had the final say.

It is the first war in our history where the President has actually acted in fact as Commander-in-Chief, planning every move, each piece of overall strategy.

And the way the American people have been duped and lied to and misled is shameful. For example, remember just a few years ago, when the secretary of defense said our boys would be "home by Christmas"?

Let me give you a list of things which I believe we are doing wrong. We are not cutting out foreign aid to those countries—supposedly our allies—which are making a fat profit selling arms to the North Vietnamese. Why?

We are not bombing many of the North Vietnamese key military objectives. Why?

We are not bombing or blockading key ports in North Viet Nam receiving military supplies. Why?

We are not showing one bit of displeasure when our soldiers are killed with Russian-made weapons. Far from it. Instead, we proudly announce new friendship pacts with the Soviet Union. While the Admininstration leaders in Washington have been busily going around in an atmosphere of happiness and hope, thinking that there was a "new Russia"—a different Communist world—little Czechoslovakia was invaded. The Czech invasion is surely evidence that Russian communism has not changed and that people in the United States who have preached the "changing nature" of communism have led us down the primose path. They have been so very wrong.

We are obviously not fighting to win. Even the Vice President of the United States admits this. Let me quote his words on this—"Our goal in Viet Nam has never been military victory. We have always sought to use diplomacy and the conference table to achieve a peaceful settlement."

We were told when we entered this war, that we were fighting to quarantee a free South Viet Nam and to prevent a Communist take-over of Southeast Asia. What has been accomplished? After all the years since, after 27,000 American dead, the Communist Vietnamese are still hurling rockets intoSaigon —South Viet Nam's capital city.

Unfortunately, the peaceful settlement—with honor, of course—which we all want seems farther away then ever. The longest war in our history gets longer every day.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• House-Senate conferees considering a bill (S 3590) **extending the Administration's farm program** are embroiled in one of the bitterest fights of the session. The Senate extended the program for four years, the length requested by the Administration, but the House voted only a one-year extension; the House also tacked on a provision limiting federal farm subsidies to $20,000 per year, a stipulation rejected in the Senate and one which LBJ abhors. At present, neither side appears ready to give an inch; if no conference agreement can be worked out, next year's new Administration must devise a completely new farm program before the present one expires at the end of 1969.

• Now that GOP presidential nominee Nixon and other high-ranking party officials have said it would be unwise to **ratify the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** at the present, due to the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, Senate Republicans appear ready to prevent the upper chamber from making the necessary ratification, which requires a two-thirds majority. Twice last week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was unable to muster a quorum to report the treaty, due to GOP absences; if it does get to the floor, negative Republican votes could stall ratification.

• A House-Senate conference last week approved the lowest **foreign aid authorization bill** (HR 15263) in the program's history—$1.971 billion. President Johnson had requested a $2.9 billion authorization, the House approved $1.993 billion and the Senate whacked this down to $1.945 billion. Even if both chambers pass the conference-approved figure, Congress must still act on a bill actually appropriating the foreign aid funds. It is likely, therefore, that the program may be cut even further, perhaps as much as $5 million.

• The influential trucking lobby may have suffered a severe defeat on a bill (S 2658) which would increase the allowable **size and weight restrictions on trucks** travelling federal highways. The measure passed the Senate almost unnoticed, then attracted opposition from those who objected to increased safety hazards. Now the bill has apparently been pigeon-holed by the House Public Works Committee.

• **The Senate has passed and sent to conference HR 17023, the 1969 appropriations bill for 19 agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The HUD appropriation included the full $1 billion which the Administration requested for its model cities program; of this amount, $500 million is to be used for urban renewal grants. The appropriation for rent supplements was raised from the House level of $40 million to $65 million, to finance an estimated 72,000 housing units. Among the other HUD appropriations was $9 million to finance administration of the "open housing" section of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.**

• **The Senate version of HR 16729, which provides $1 billion in aid to needy college students, is still awaiting action by the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The Education subcommittee reported the bill without the House-approved amendment preventing aid to students who refuse to obey "a lawful regulation or order" of their college if school officials agree that the refusal contributed to the "disruption of university or college administration" The Senate subcommittee also dropped another House-approved amendment which cuts off funds to persons convicted in any court of inciting or participating in a riot. If these amendments are not added in the full committee or on the Senate floor, conservatives will lobby for their retention in conference.**

• By a 227-to-172 rollcall vote, the House has approved an **extension of the food stamp program** for the needy through fiscal 1972, but it declined to place any limit on the amount that could be spent. The action came in response to an Administration-backed amendment raising the current food stamp appropriation from $225 million to $245 million for next year. Congress is now faced with placing a ceiling on the program's spending when it reconvenes in September.

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Why the Gold Crisis Could Trigger the Next Depression

AND HOW YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR LIFE SAVINGS

If economist William F. Rickenbacker is right, there may be little time left to convert your holdings to a form that can withstand the coming financial holocaust. In DEATH OF THE DOLLAR, he explains with cool — no, bone-chilling — logic, why he thinks the depression must come. Then he reasons out the steps (the very few steps) that you can take to protect the assets you've accumulated.

WHAT A NIGHTMARE! You lose your job or business. You see the value of your stocks or property drop by half overnight. You lose most of your savings. In effect, you must pay twice as much for your mortgage or car loan, *and you can't get any further credit!* The trouble is, this may not just be a bad dream; it could be a FACT.

According to Rickenbacker, *the stage is already set for the worst depression in American history.* It is the current gold crisis that will trigger the holocaust. Nobody knows exactly how and when; it could be next year or maybe next week. But strike it will, says Rickenbacker, *probably with no more warning than what you are reading right now!*

Step by step, the author explains why. He shows how our gold reserves are tied to our international balance of payments. With plain horse-sense reasoning, he shows why all the financial parachutes and fire extinguishers that the government has laced through our money system will prove to be *frauds* when the chips are down.

Does FDIC insurance on your savings account make you feel secure? At this very moment the FDIC can pay no more than $1 for every $100 of yours it has insured! Are you impressed when the Federal Reserve "monetizes the debt"? Rickenbacker shows how this can take a $100 debt, turn it into a $600 credit and skyrocket the cost of milk and eggs. Does $10 billion in gold sound like plenty of "reserves"? It's less than half of what we had just a few years ago — and it now is supposed to support *four times more* in short-term loans to the U.S. How long will foreign countries continue to accept our notes — our promise to pay in gold — *when they know we soon may have no gold?*

Above all—Rickenbacker shows why Wall Street and the entire financial community can be *expected* to be caught napping when the hurricane strikes. (Their slumber is almost a required ingredient.)

How You May AVOID Financial Disaster

If a reading of Rickenbacker's analysis makes sense to you, you'll want to know what steps to take as a hedge against the trouble ahead. The author analyzes all the major investment possibilities — stocks, bonds, convertibles, real estate, cash savings, art treasures, etc. — showing which types of holdings you may want to avoid, which are more likely to provide you with a crash helmet.

Please understand, *this is not a tip sheet in book form.* There is no "sell Tweedledum and buy Tweedledee" advice. This is a financial analysis written in plain (and graceful) English. Any high school student can understand it. The purpose is to show the average investor what *really* is going on in the world of international finance so that he can make more knowledgeable decisions about his current and future investments.

Risk-Free Examination

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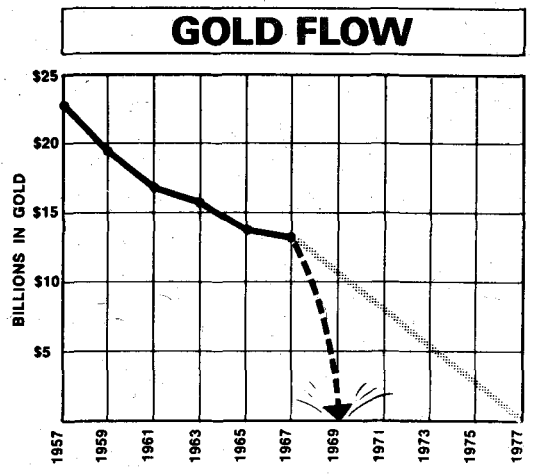

THE CHART TELLS THE STORY. Black line shows loss of gold reserves since 1957 as foreigners cash in dollars for gold. Grey line projects loss of remaining gold by 1977 IF rate of loss stays the same. But the outflow is sure to speed up. Reason: we continue to spend far more dollars than we can redeem in gold. Broken line shows what will happen as nervous creditors lose confidence and "rush" our government in a panic to "get their gold before it's too late". Then the U.S. must stop redeeming dollars for gold or run out of gold — thus driving the price way up and cutting the dollar's buying power. Will it happen this month? In 1969? 1970? No one knows; it could happen any time now.

Undeveloped Real Estate	Natural Resources
Gems	Prepayment of Debt / Currency
Gold Stocks*	Art and Antiques / Metals
Common Stocks	Preferred Stocks / Bonds
Savings Accounts	Developed Real Estate

** Don't jump to any conclusions*

Only 2 or 3 of the above investments will weather the coming financial storm, according to Rickenbacker. Every expert who saw this chart before publication of the book guessed wrong. When Rickenbacker explained the reasoning behind his choices, every expert ended up agreeing with the author!

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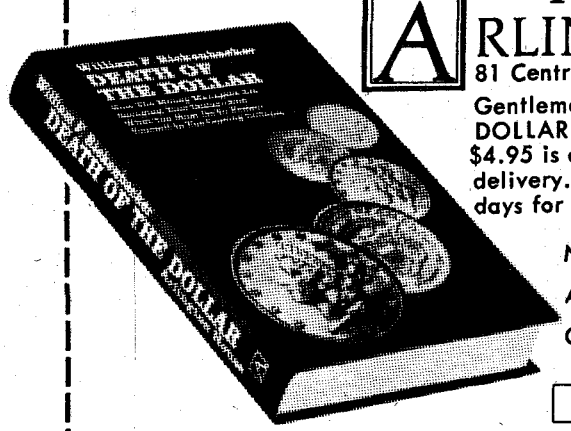
"It is certain that the reform [increase in gold price] will have to be carried out. The only question is to know whether it will be done before or after the general crisis."
— William F. Rickenbacker

William F. Rickenbacker is an independent investment advisor and Wall Street analyst. If you read his first book, *Wooden Nickels* (1966), you know that he flatly predicted that silver prices would skyrocket. If you followed his advice, Rickenbacker has put you in a brand new tax bracket — and you will need no urging to read his new analysis of the gold crisis.



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